Titus Britannicus:

AN ESSAY OF HISTORY ROYAL: IN THE Life & Reign OF HIS Late SACRED MAJESTY, CHARLES II.

Of Ever Blessed and Immortal Memory.

By AURELIAN COOK, Gent.

——*Ut ameris, Amabilis esto.* Ovid.
Majora Veris Monstra vix capiunt Fidem. Senec.

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To the most NOBLE, HONOURABLE, REVEREND:

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The Lords of His late Majesties Privy-Council.

My LORDS,

IT was a Custom much us'd by the Ancient Writers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to Dedicate

Dedicate their Books to their moſt particular Friends, and ſometimes to Intitle and call them by their Friends Names. In our Age, wherein we either do, or ſhou'd imitate Antiquity in all commendable things, This laudable Cuſtom is either wholly laid aſide, or practis'd by ſo few, that they almoſt eſcape Obſervance. If indeed this Method of Dedicating Books was chang'd into a better, I ſhould have no reaſon to complain, but rather to applaud the happy Genius of our Times, for outſhining the brighteſt days of Antiquity: But moſt aſſuredly, we can find no cauſes for ſuch Triumphs. The Dedications now made in *England* and *France* (which two Countries in this Age, we may Parallel with the fore-mention'd *Greece* and *Italy*, upon

the Score of Excellence in Wit, with reſpect to the reſt of *Europe*) Our Dedications, I ſay, are ſo full of nauſeous and fulſom Flatteries, and Moſt of 'em ſo generally made up of about a dozen long Words, variouſly turn'd and diſpers'd; that for my part, I wonder how any Man can proceed any further in a Book of ſuch ſmall hopes, but muſt needs lay it down, and chuſe rather to go to Bounding-Stones with *Auguſtus*. Nay, this crying Sin of the Nation is come to that paſs, that even our Poets, who were made and fram'd on purpoſe in ſuch a Make, as only to laſh Vice with the ſevereſt Satyr, are yet moſt abominably guilty of this crime. When an excellent Comedy has appear'd on the Stage for ſome time, and perhaps done the Work

of

of an Hundred Homilies, in viſiting and reclaiming Mankind from their evil. ways; it comes forth in Print, and all is ſpoil'd again by a wicked Dedication in the beginning, which propaga[illegible] Atheiſm; ſo that no man can believe the Poet is honeſt, and ſpeaks his mind in the Play, while he talks ſo lewdly and contradictorily in the Dedication: It was not ſo in *Ben. Johnſon*'s days.

What I have ſaid of Epiſtles Dedicatory in general, may partly ſeem to hook my ſelf into the crowd of theſe numerous Tranſgreſſors, while I inſcribe this Book to your Great Names. But ſeveral Things I have to alledg for my ſelf. Firſt, tho this Piece be not preſented to any private Friend of its Author in Emulation of the Ancients; yet as far as

poſſibly, I have followed their Sacred Rules and Canons, in a Work of this publick Nature. For it is the Life of one of the Greateſt and Wiſeſt Princes that ever Sway'd the *Engliſh*, or any other Scepter: And to whom cou'd I better devote His Life, than to His Greateſt and Wiſeſt Friends, (for ſuch *He* always call'd His beſt Servants?) Ye are concern'd, My Lords, in every Page of this Book, and can witneſs what is here related, to be true. No part of His Life, but wherein ſome of you have had a ſhare; In His Education, His Exile, His Sufferings, His Victories, His Triumphs: And while I write his Life, in ſome meaſure I write Yours. For ſuch is the fate of Celſitude and honour, that Great Men (in ſome ſenſe)

ſenſe) do frequently Dye before Sixty three: And to be ſure, when a Prince falls, he does not fall alone; but ſeveral Others have their Lives interchangeably writ with his.

Beſides, MY LORDS, being unable to find any Object nearer to him, than Your ſelves, except his Majeſty, (whom God long preſerve) and the Family Royal; I lay under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of imploring your Lordſhips Patronage: For ſuch is my Veneration to the Blood of my Prince, that by no means can I be perſwaded to think the enſuing Papers fit for his moſt Sacred and Princely Eye, or worthy a Royal Protection; and I am reſolv'd to be as Innocent as I can, and not offend One Prince, after having committed Treaſon againſt the Fame of another.

How-

However, My Lords, tho this be not a Piece fit for a Kings Cabinet; yet I hope this Image of our late Sovereigns Life will not be refus'd by Your Lordships, since we love the Pictures of those Persons we admire, let 'em be never so unfinisht, let them be drawn by what hand soever.

The other Thing which I propos'd to my self in this Address, was the avoiding Flattery; tho it may seem a very unnecessary Caution; since he that looks up to such a Thick-set Conglobation, and (as it were) Galaxy of heavenly Virtues, must easily infer, that they are too high for Flattery, and too bright to have any lustre added to them. With all the Tragical forces of Eloquence I might here expatiate on the Topicks of Grand Descent, of Titles

tles and honours, of Policy and Government, of Arms and Learning, of the Tent and the Cloſet: But it is not my deſign to manage theſe common Subjects. And I beg leave of your Lordſhips to ſay, That in the front of a Book conſecrated to the fame of CHARLES the II*d*, I think I ſhou'd do an Injury to him, if I endeavour'd profeſſedly to write any other Panegyrick but his; tho at the ſame time I muſt needs include Your Lordſhips Praiſes. And herein I have determin'd to take a View of the King himſelf, and not of his Deeds, (that Province I leave to his hiſtory) and to ſet his perſonal Virtues, and not additional Actions before your Eyes; for a bad man may do a praiſe-worthy thing, but a good man himſelf can only be praiſed. Many

Kings

Kings themſelves do either hear or readtheir ownCommendations, and take care to ſee their own Glory ſetled before they dye: But ſuch kind of Annals uſually is as mortal as their Subject, and as ſoon turns to Aſhes. No, His late Majeſties Praiſe ſhall not be Mercenary; The World after his Death ſhall believe the King was the leaſt Thing in him. And Poſterity ſhall know the happineſs of *England* and this Age, when it ſhall ſee, we are not ſilent of a good Prince after his Deceaſe; for it is a ſign, that there is as good a One, or a better on the Throne.

And this Task I the more willingly undertake, MY LORDS, Firſt, becauſe it is impoſſible for any man to want, or matter, or words, while he writes of him; and

and 'tis a Subject, that even Dulneſs it ſelf wou'd Treat of wittily; And ſecondly, becauſe not only all *Europe*, but the whole World, and Poſterity it ſelf, will joyn with me in his Praiſes. For the Outmoſt Rounds of the Earth were acquainted with him; and he eſtabliſh'd our Commerce ſo univerſally, that whatever Product was generated in any Country, ſeem'd to be the Native of Ours; and in every Seaſon of the Year, we had a perpetual Autumn, Fruits arriving from every part of this Globe. And as his Name will be laid up in the Libraries of *Aſia*, and men muſt hear his Praiſes by Interpreters; ſo likewiſe, our Poſterity, no doubt, will help us in praiſing him, who are at preſent too much over-loaden with one burthen, that of Grief for His inex-

inexpreſſible loſs, to undertake ſuch another as that of celebrating him.

I ſhall not ſeek to fetch Encomiums from comparing him with his Anceſtors, and ſo try by leſſening them, to amplifie his Greatneſs: That is a trick, I do not pretend to; let his fame ſtand at the expence of no mans elſe. For as all the Talents and Virtues of his Forefathers, he in ſuch wiſe united in himſelf, as that not one of them was wanting while he lived; and as it is common for a Prince to be better than his Predeceſſors, but to be better than all his Predeceſſors belong'd to him alone; ſo he that detracts from them, detracts from him. And (for one inſtance) who dare ſacrilegiouſly invade the Majeſty of CHARLES the 1ſt (in hopes to dimi-

diminiſh it) who neither ſaid, nor did, nor wrote, nor begot any thing but what was Great?

So Divine a Prince, none was thought worthy by Heav'n it ſelf, immediately to Succeed but he: And therefore, after that Nature had made ſeveral Tryals in *Henry the Great's* Daughter, for five Years ſpace, towards the Production of ſomething perfect and abſolute, ſhe at length made this acceptable Preſent to the World. As ſoon as Born, Heaven took notice of him, and ey'd him with a Star, appearing in defiance of the Sun at Noon-day, either to note, That his Life ſhou'd be continu'd with Miracles, as it began with one; or that his Glory ſhou'd ſhine like a Star; or elſe to prove, That if it be queſtion'd, whether Sovereigns be given us by

by chance, or by the hand of the Almighty, it is here manifeſt, that this Prince came from Heav'n, and that there is a World of difference put betwixt Kings ſupernaturally made by God, and thoſe electively made by Man.

In his Education afterwards, he excell'd in all thoſe corporal Exerciſes, and that growth of Body, for which Antiquity appointed the Sons of the Gods, and Husbands of the Goddeſſes to be ſo Remarkable. And as the ſhape of his Body, ſo the form of his mind was truly and univerſally Imperial: It had the command of whatever Notion or Thing was preſented to it, whether Divine or Humane, without any foreign Explication; and as it were by Intuition, he ſaw the Ideas of all things in his own breaſt.

In

In his firſt Years, he promis'd that Virtue which his Fathers and his own Miſeries gave him an early and a large Field to ſhew to the World, and which he kept entire and unſhaken to the laſt; his Mind being ſtill more and more ſtrengthned by difficulties. And (to ſpeak a little freely, MY LORDS,) when Ye remember him amid all his diſtreſſes, and the moſt inſupportable ſtroaks of Fortune, unrepining, and not letting the leaſt complaint eſcape from him, or the leaſt fear ſeize upon him; You muſt either fancy ſomething in him above Man, or that the gods themſelves might learn of him one Virtue, that of conſtancy and firmneſs of mind; For *Seneca* ſhews us, that *Hercules* himſelf (the great and perfect Model of true Virtue and Va-

lour) in his laſt Agonies did complain, ev'n to Deſperation.

Adorn'd with ſuch Virtues, who cou'd not but love him? Even Sea-Rebels (as rough and boiſterous as their own Element) grow tender-hearted, and ſet their Admiral on ſhore, delivering themſelves up to him; and the Love of *the Prince* prevails more with them, than the Piety of *their King*.

When in Exile, as with his Fame he had before fill'd other Nations, ſo now he bleſs'd 'em with his preſence. By barbarous Rebels he was forc'd to venture the Hoſpitality of Princes; yet the King of *France* was not afraid of abiding in the *French* Kings Dominions. But whatever jealouſies he might conceive of his own ſafety; whatever bad news he received from *England*; how great

great ſoever were the Progreſſes made by *Cromwel*, he thought this his greateſt Unhappineſs, that he ſhou'd have ſo many Calamitous Friends both at home and abroad.

His Reſtoration I can compare to nothing better, than that eaſie, delicious, and jocund Temper of the Elements, of Heaven, the Air, and Sea, after a violent and outragious Tempeſt, or rather after the great Deluge of the World; at *which* Time, he prov'd himſelf the *Noah*'s Dove, that finding no Reſt any where, was receiv'd again into his own Ark, and brought a peaceable *Olive*-Leaf in his Mouth. *Which* Revolution was the alone work of Providence and the General. For nothing but an Almighty Power hath Dominion over the minds of Men. He

did not leap on Shore with his Sword in his Hand, by way of Compulſion; but he was ſaluted with the free and unanimous Voice of three great Nations. As he had no other real Enemies but his own Country, ſo in this he appeared *more than Conqueror*, that he vanquiſh'd the very minds of his enemies. Never was ſuch a Triumph ſeen at *Rome*. Others have rode on a Chariot with four white Horſes, or more arrogantly have been carri'd on Mens Shoulders; but he was brought in by the hearts of Men. That Name which others get by conquer'd Nations, he got by repenting ones; and only by returning out of exile into his own Country (which was exil'd, when he was ſo) he lookt in the Poets Language,

Like

Like Mars *returning from the*
Noble Chace
Of flying Nations through the
Plains of Thrace.

At one time never was ſo much Joy heap'd together in *England.* It ſeem'd as if all the Melancholly of the former years was purpoſely deſigned to introduce and heighten the ſo extravagant gladneſs of that great Day, that ſome were ready to wiſh for a Renovation of the Civil Wars, that they might have that day repeated to them over again. Every man thought that himſelf received the ſhouts he gave; and every ſubject fancied himſelf a Monarch. The ſick imagine, they are reſtored to health, by ſeeing his God-like Perſon: Some cry, they have lived long enough:

Others, Now they ought, rather, to live longer. Traitors themſelves drink the King's Health heartily: They admire him more, that he wou'd not, than that ever he ſhould be in a poſſibility to revenge himſelf; and that he ſhou'd remember Injuries only to forgive them.

Let him aſcend, and there was a due Majeſty reſtor'd to the Throne, Authority to the Laws, Reverence to inferior Magiſtrates, and the ſacred Order of Biſhops to Religion, like a Treaſure found from a Ship-wrack, after many Years rouling in a tempeſtuous Sea.

Thus terminating all publick differences and confuſions by Peace, he adorn'd Peace it ſelf with good Arts, which receiv'd both their Countrey with him,

and

and their Protection under him, by his opening the Temple of *Janus*, and that of the *Muſes* at the ſame time. For himſelf had as great a Knowledg in Letters as any Prince in *Chriſtendom*; and he moſt acurately underſtood Navigation, Aſtronomy, and moſt parts of the Mathematicks. An huge delight he took in converſing freely with the moſt knowing Men in thoſe pleaſant and uſeful Studies: And he endeavour'd to promote them (as much as poſſible) in others, by publick Endowments, and Liberal Rewards.

Beſides this ſeverer ſort of Notices, he had a great inſight into all thoſe ſofter Arts which become a private Gentleman. And in his Reign we may ſay, That Wit did firſt reign here, and appear'd upon the Stage as on a Throne:

It was ſcarcely more encourag'd and environ'd with greater Pomp and Splendor at *Rome*, under the peaceable Reign of *Auguſtus* after that long Civil War, wherein the Sword would permit nothing elſe to be ſharp, beſides it ſelf.

Tho he had as much Good-Nature as wou'd perhaps have ſerv'd an Hundred other Men (a Word peculiar to our *Engliſh* Tongue, and a Thing peculiar to this Prince, as the Great *Chancellor* remark'd), yet he was obſerved to take an extream delight in that Part of Poeſy, which is not very famous for Good Nature, I mean *Satyr*. Doubtleſs this ſort of Writing, is the beſt and moſt beneficial of all others, which the Poets follow; for it not only tells Mankind of, but it chaſtiſes them for their Faults.

And

And I wonder, that the Ancients, when they beſtowed ſo many ſeveral kinds of Poetry to the Favour and Influence of ſo many Muſes, they could not find in their hearts to allow one Goddeſs to *Satyr.* But whatever unkindneſs it finds in Heaven; I am ſure in our Age it has found Protection upon earth, witneſs the great good Offices the *French* King hath done it in the Perſon of *Boileau.* For, that Prince is not like *Alexander* of a *Spaniſh* ſtamp and Complexion, ſo wholly tranſported with the Giddineſs of *Romantick* Stories, as that he cannot dream of conquering the World without having *Homer* for his Bedfellow; but what he reads is good ſenſe, and honeſt Nature, without any vain and extravagant additions. And this he does in imitation

tation of his Late Majeſty (who was the oldeſt, and by conſequence the moſt exemplary Prince in the Chriſtian World), tho under far worſe Circumſtances. For the latter was much better capacitated through his *extenſive* Knowledg in Nature, and the Intricacies of Matter and Motion, as well as in all Polite Learning : and I think, I ſhou'd do no man an Injury, if I ſay, he underſtood *Butler* the beſt in *England*.

How Good and Gracious a Maſter he was, You MY LORDS, can beſt declare ; Ye knew him the moſt ſearching Judg of Men, that held in his hands both rewards and puniſhments : In the laſt indeed, he was very ſparing ; and the offending Courtier was uſually excus'd before-hand, very ſeldom to be excus'd. The

Puniſhment

Puniſhment, he thought, was ſufficient in the very Vexation of the Delinquent. Warily and by Degrees, his Rewards were diſtributed, that there might ſtill be a further Proſpect in view by way of Encouragement; For nothing conduces more to following Honours, than the former well adminiſtred: And never at one leap was any ſupreme place conferred, unleſs for ſome Tranſcendent, and (as I may call it) ſupernatural piece of Loyalty. Our Nobleſſe he both preſerved and augmented; leſt the condition of ſuch ſhould be worſe, as deſerved to have a Noble Poſterity, than of ſuch as had Noble Anceſtors. Not a Soldier was there, that had received Wounds in his Service, but he counted, and rewarded them in an ample manner: And tho-

thorough all ſucceeding Ages He will be a Benefactor as well as an example to Soldiers at *Chelſea*; where as long as we ſhall have a Country to Defend, or an Enemy to Combate, His Name will be evermore remembred, for what is beſtow'd upon Poſterity, ought to be Immortal.

You likewiſe, My Lords, can give the beſt Atteſtation to his Offices of Privacy, and his great Virtues of Humility and Condeſcention, which yet had a kind of Majeſtick Royalty with them. Ye remember him, when he was in Exile, and as a private man, how he reſembled a King; and how whileſt a reſtored Monarch, and in his moſt illuſtrious days, he ſeem'd to be a private Citizen. That in his greateſt Proſperity he had not the leaſt Haughtineſs nor

Elation

Elation of Mind; but being ſecure of his own greatneſs, was not afraid of degrading himſelf into the likeneſs of a Subject. Ye know, how much time he beſtow'd on the cares of Empire, how much on the Duties of Devotion, Philoſophy, and Vertue; how ſhort his Sleeps, and the unbendings of his mind were: A ſmart walk, a mouthful of freſh Air, and a little ingenious raillery.

Such a Prince muſt needs be no leſs lov'd than admir'd: The Affection and Reverence of his Subjects wou'd ſtand him inſtead of terror. His own Virtue wou'd ſerve him for a Guard, and his Sword rather for Ornament than Defence.

But what Charms can withſtand the Ingratitude and Malice of accurſed and diabolick Rebels?

A-

Againſt his Sacred Life we had a *Salamanca-Plot*, wherein the Sufferers ſeem'd to be more choqu'd at the Injuſtice of the Evidence, than at the ſeverity of the Sentence: They ſeem'd to bear all magnanimouſly, and with the bravery of Innocence. And with good reaſon might they do ſo, ſince they had for a Co-partner in Diſhonour (which to her was worſe than Death) the moſt Pious, and Virtuous Princeſs that *England* ever deſerv'd to ſee. We had, likewiſe, a moſt helliſh Fanatick Conſpiracy, the Diſcovery of which diſcover'd ALL. Then Heaven began to look kindly down upon us, and withdraw its Plagues, eſpecially that great *Egyptian* Darkneſs, wherewith we had been blinded: And the Froggs and Vermine which were got

got into the Royal Bed-Chambers, found it high time to recede. Then the *Delatores* began to fear as much as they were fear'd before: And the Laws were now more dreaded than perjur'd Schiſmaticks. Then Sham-Magiſtrates put off their conſulary Honours, and public Spoils; And the King of *England* became firſt LORD OF LONDON: Which City, while he reſtrain'd its Liberties, he rendred more free.

But here, MY LORDS, we come to a full point; and here ye muſt take your leave of him. For when he had run thorough all the violences of a tumultuary Life, when he had eſcap'd all theſe dangers of impious and unreaſonable men, when he now had eſtabliſh'd His Throne in Safety, Peace and Righteouſneſs, and (as

vve

we may properly ſay) juſt now began to enjoy himſelf, and you him, behold! He is taken away from you. Who can forbear complaining of the uncertain Eſtate and frail Condition of human kind, when neither the moſt ineſtimable riches and un-periſhing Graces of the mind, nor the moſt enlarged Extremities of Glory and Greatneſs, ſpreading on the one hand towards the War-like Thunder, or on the other towards the Peaceful Scepter, nor even the hearty and united Prayers of a Virtuous People, cou'd impart Efficacy enough to make one Perſon immortal, or ſhould be able to hinder the diſunion of one Soul from a Body? That he who had his youthful Years try'd by the Auſterity of a gloomy Fate, and had

avoided

avoided ſo many Parliamentary tricks laid for His Life, and being the true εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, did almoſt Suffer Martyrdom with his Father; Who in that Fatal day of *Worceſter* differed only from the common Soldiers in courage and Eminence, rejoicing as oft as the Bullets graz'd upon His Helmet or Buckler; Who in his Flight thence (like another *Æneas* envelop'd in a Cloud by his Mother) paſs'd through all the amazing *Mæanders* of Providence, vvhile Poſterity ſhall come to ſee, and ſhevv their Children the Cottage vvhere he rubb'd off his Martial Duſt, and the ſacred Tree vvherein he lay hid; That he vvho at his Reſtoration was ſtil'd the *Engliſh Titus*, The Delight of Mankind, and the only Reſtorative to a Nation ſo

long oppreſt by Civil War; who afterwards reach'd the utmoſt Degrees of Fame by ſtaining the *Engliſh* Seas ſo often with his Victories, and encreaſing the Armory in the Tower; *That* he, who was the Supreme Arbiter of Life and Death, and *Europe*'s Moderator, [who when moved, the World was mov'd, and when quiet, it was ſtill]; And who, if he had lived an hundred Years, the People would never have been tired with his Government, ſhould dye like one of us?

But let this be our Conſolation, that when ordinary men dye, they dye; but when a Good Prince expires, it is not his Death, but his immediate *Apotheoſis*: he preſently flies to the Kingdom of Heaven, and there reigneth for evermore (as alſo here by his example

example) exchanging a Temporal for an Eternal Crown of Glory. Leſt therefore we ſhould ſeem to repine at his happineſs, let us no longer think two Eyes too few to pay the Tribute of our Tears, and bedew his Aſhes withal ; Let not every Subject weep, as if it were at his Fathers Funeral, not only ſomething of his own Accord, but more out of Inſtinct, and the command of Nature ; Let not this one Spectacle be as hideous and doleful as that of *Xerxes* numerous Army ; Let not the Maps of the whole Earth in proportion to the dimenſions of his Fame, be hung in Black ; Let not that colour be the Livery of Mens Souls as well as their Bodies any longer ; And let not the very Graces and Joy it ſelf weep any more ; Neither let the

expreſſions of our ſorrow be as abundant as our ſorrovv it ſelf: in regard he himſelf took the greateſt care imaginable in his Life-time, that we ſhould not lament his Death, and that he ſhould not be miſs't; but has left us not only a Succeſſor, but (in a manner) the Partner and Companion of his Throne, and (which is above all) his Deareſt Friend; ſo that we have not loſt, but only chang'd a Gracious Sovereign, in whom we find ſo many God-like Perfections, that we ſhall never be tempted to adore the Former, now ſince his tranſlation, and pay Religious Worſhip to him, inſtead of Allegiance.

And now, MY LORDS, what remains? But, That as nothing could have repair'd our ineffable Loſs of CHARLES the II*d*, but the

the Succeſſion of JAMES the IId, we proſtrate our ſelves at the feet of Almighty God, by whom Kings Reign; imploring him, that it may be many Years, before we have the ſame occaſion for Grief; putting up our Vows for the Kings Health, and the Eternity of this Empire, that he would grant him a long and a proſperous Reign over us; that never his Breaſt may be ſenſible of any ſigh unleſs it be at Devotion; nor his Face know any Wrinkle or Contraction, unleſs like Thunder, to ſtrike Traitors and Excluſioners Dead; *That his days may be upon Earth, as the days of Heaven*: That as he hath been the Great Argument of Providence by eſcaping ſo many *Perils in War*, *Perils by Sea*, and *Perils by his own Country-men*; ſo he may ſtill remain

the

the Great *Mathuſalem* of Providence, and [that we may ſee that CHARLES is not yet dead] ſtill live to demonſtrate, that Heaven is infinite in its Mercies, and does embrace both him and it ſelf in Eternal Circulations; that without any new Diſloyal, and diſcriminating times, he may at length ariſe to that Pitch of Power, and continue in that heigth of Safety, Succeſs, and Glory, till Treaſon ſhall be lookt upon as deplorable Madneſs, not for that it is Wicked, but Deſperate; And laſtly, That by an uninterrupted ſeries of Tranquillity, his Happy Subjects may think him ſo happy, that if the Option was given to any One of them, he would chuſe it as a better Condition to be King JAMES his Subject, than to be Mo-

Monarch of Anothers more large and Wealthy Territories. I am,

MY LORDS,

Your Lordships

March 19. 168⅘.

Most Humble,

Most Obedient,

Most Devoted Servant,

AUR. COOK.

Being conſcious to my ſelf (Reader) of having too many Faults of my own to anſwer for, in managing ſo great and glorious a Theme, I am mightily unwilling to be reſponſible for thoſe of the Printer's, occaſioned by my Abſence, and the horrid Negligence of the Corrector: And therefore having taken notice of the moſt material, I deſire thee to correct them.

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THE
Publiſhers Advertiſement
TO THE
READER.

THere is no *queſtion*, but many at the *firſt ſight* of the *Title page* will *Wonder*, that ſo *Sacred* a *Name* ſhou'd be *there*; and that the *Life* of ſo *Great* a *Prince* ſhould be *pretended* to be written in ſo little time. Hiſtory (*they will ſay*) is a *Work* of *Time* it ſelf, as well as that *part* of it, call'd *Biography*, which Treats of the *Lives* of Eminent and Great *Men*, and of *Illuſtrious Heroes*; informing us in the *Nature* of *Things*, and of *Duties*, and *Teaching* us the great *Arts* of *Life* and *Death*, which are no ſuch eaſie and trivial matters, as to be thrown over the *left Shoulder*.

And what ſhall we ſay to the *Confidence* of *this Author*, who, now in leſs than two *Months* ſpace has *huddled* up the Life of the *greateſt Monarch* of the *Britiſh Line*, which perhaps is *more* difficult to be writ than that of any of his *Predeceſſors*; and would claim a *Century*, or at leſt as *many Years*, as it was *acted* in, to be *abſolutely* and thoroughly *digeſted* by the moſt *reaching Genius*, and moſt *conſummated* Wit?

Wherefore, to ſatisfie thee, *Reader*, and thy Objection, I will tell and aſſure thee, That the *Author* is *partly* (I do ſay) more acquainted with the great *difficulty* as well as *uſe* of Hiſtory in *general*; and that for his *own* Part, *This* which thou haſt here, he hath been *long* about theſe many years, and that it is no *Muſhroom buſineſs* ſpringing up from a *foggy* Brain in one Night, and as likely to periſh by *another*. It is a *thoughtful* Piece, no *illegitimate Brat*, no Sham-extract *Verbatim* out of other Books, which thou haſt perhaps *read* and *paid* for *already*. For I ſhould be very loath (if I knew ſuch a thing) to ſo be *unconſcionable* to impoſe upon thee.

But

But now perhaps from my *Anſwer* to the *former* Objection, thou wilt be ready to raiſe another, and look upon my *Author* as no *kind Wiſher* to his *Prince*, to go and write his Life *before* his Demiſs, which reſembles a kind of an *Expectation* of his *Death*, rather than the *putting* up any hearty *Prayers* for the *Continuance* of his Life, as every *good Subject* ought to do.

In *return* to this, I am ſtill of the *Affirmitive* ſide, and will again *aſſure* thee, That he is a very *Loyal* and *Worthy Gentlemen*, and that thou wilt *believe* me, as ſoon as thou haſt *read* his Book. And beſides (to *conſider* the thing in *it ſelf*) 'tis ſo *far* from being an *Act* that looks any ways *Diſloyal*, to write a Princes Life before his *Deceaſe*, that on the *other hand* it is extreamly Loyal and Meritorious. As we ſee now in *France*, where an *Annual Penſion* is ſetled upon the *Great Satyriſt* to write the Life of his Maſter, the *French King*. Indeed, this I will *add* in my Authors behalf, that I have heard him ſay, he never deſir'd to live to finiſh his Book; but Addreſſed Heaven to the contrary; *hoping* it might prove a *Picture* and Draught of the

Kings

Kings Life only to the *middle*. But since *Heaven* has thought fit to take our Gracious Prince to it *self*, I prevailed with him to *revise* the whole *Work*, and make an *addition* to such years as was *wanting*: Which being compleated, I here present to the Publick View. For you may ghess, *Reader*, that when *we Booksellers* have got any thing of this *Nature*, it is as *severe* a piece of *Mortification* and *Self-denial* to keep it *private*, as it is for our *Gallants* to keep their *Chambers* the same Day they have got a *new Suit*. Adieu.

A Table of the most Remarkable matters couch't in this Royal Story.

Anno à Virginis partu.

1630 KIng Charles the Second, born at St. James's.

A Prodigious Star then appearing at Mid-day. page 5

Baptiz'd by Dr. Laud, *Bishop of* London. 7

Committed in his Infancy to the Countess of Dorsets *care, then to the Government of the* Earl *of* New-Castle, *and the Tutorage of Dr.* Duppa. Ibid.

1638 *First called Prince of* Wales *by Order, not* creation. 7.

Accompanies *his Royal* Father *in* Progresses. *Ibid.*

Takes his Seat *in* Parliament. *Ibid.*

Carries a reprieving *Message from the* King *to the* Parliament, *about the Earl of* Strafford. 8

1640 *Goes with his* Father *into the* North. 10

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An Essay of

HISTORY ROYAL

In the LIFE and REIGN

OF HIS

Late Sacred MAJESTY

CHARLES the Second.

The Introduction.

HIstory, in all Ages, hath not undeservedly been accounted the great Light and Mistress of Humane Life; as it both pleasurably instructs, and most efficaciously persuades all Ranks and Degrees of men, to their several respective and proper Offices. For, in laying the Foundation of a Good Mind, Examples have a peculiar force to move men to Virtue, and a much Greater, than any bare Precepts whatsoever; since they have this excellence in them, that they prove, what they recommend, possible to be done, and a Precept without an Example adjoyn'd to it, looks like a good Law never put into Execution. When men read of an Excellent Virtue, they still carry away some Tincture from it, whether they will or no, as if they had been in Conversation with it's Possessor; And when they read of any deformity and vice, they have a natural

tural aversion for it, and will take care to avoid in themselves, what looks so ugly in others.

Nor does History tend only to form men's manners, in order to an happy Life, but it also exalts and enlarges their minds, while they take a prospect of all Generations, that have been upon Earth before them. They seem to give Eternity to themselves a parte ante, and to live as many years as they have read in Chronicles. And, by this knowledge of the time past, they judge of the present, and proceed to the fore-sight of the future: For the best Astrology in the World is to be deriv'd from History, and from the Consideration of those Luminaries, that have mov'd in a Sphere above us, either in point of Time, or of Place.

Which since we see to be the Proper ends and uses of History, without doubt that History is highly to be esteem'd, which does not consist so much of Magnificent and Pompous things, as the Description of Wars, of Great Buildings, and such matters as only bring an empty pleasure to the Reader, but which does exhibit things useful and worthy his Imitation, and that will fill up his mind. Upon this account the Lives of Eminent Men, writ with fidelity and truth, have certainly the greatest use; since from thence we learn how to live well, to moderate our passions, and govern our selves in the various Circumstances of Life. But whereas we cannot live well, unless we live in Society, and all Societies must have Rulers and Governors over them, or else we must all disband and turn Barabbas's; there is still one Higher Degree of History which we may look upon, as the most compleat for Estimation, Profit and Use: And that is a Narration of the Live

of Princes, representing (withal) every action bearing a Relation and Analogy thereunto. And his kind cannot stand without the fore-mention'd Additionals (as I may Stile them) and not Essentials of History, as Arms, and Fortifications, and the like matters: Which though they do concern no man in himself, as to point of Happiness, yet together with the great Delight they bring along with them, they are mainly conducive to the well-fare of mankind in general, and the Knowledge of 'em is requisite to many particular men, as immediately ingag'd in them, and is, likewise, universally Ornamental.

Which things being well weigh'd, I think I have got under my Pen, one of the most profitable, as well as diverting Histories, the Sun ever yet saw acted: It being the Life of a Prince, which may be an Example not only to publick but private men. For it affords us the knowledge of Heaven, and reads us a Lecture of Piety, Justice, Patience, Fortitude, and Clemency: Which being virtues in a Prince, have a singular Grace with 'em. It is not an account of the Robberies of an Alexander, but a Register of Providential Bounties and Appointments; beautified with the various Scenes and Landskips of Humane Life, to instruct our Judgments, and amuse our Imagination. It teaches us the Arts of Unity and Concord, and draws out the true lines of the English Government. It cures those diseases of the mind, Insolence, self-conceit, and Ambition, and shews, that it is the Subjects Interest as well as Duty, to obey.

These are all things but of Yesterdays standing, and very well known and remembred; So that

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These are all things but of Yeſterdays ſtanding, and very well known and remembred; So that

that before hand, I need not make any Profeſſions here of my truth and ſincerity, in the following Relation, it being not ſo eaſy to deceive as to be refell'd in things, not in the leaſt remote from our knowledge. This indeed is all, I have the vanity to fear, that, if this Book ſhould happen to deſcend to Poſterity, they will rather think it the Panegyrick than Hiſtory of our late admirable Prince, becauſe when I report nothing of him but what was laudable, they may gheſs, that I have pretermitted, what was worthy reprehenſion.

The moſt renowned and mighty Monarch *CHARLES* the Second, late King of *England*, was in greatneſs of his Royal Deſcent, Superiour to all the Princes in *Europe*, being deſcended from our Royal Martyr *Charles* the good and great, and *Henrietta de Bourbon*, Daughter to *Henry the Great*, the Fourth of that name, of *France*; By deſcending from which two Royal Perſons, he was related to all the Princes in *Europe*, & had ſome of all the *Bloud-Royal* of the Chriſtian World concenter'd in his Princely Veins. By his Father, he deriv'd in a lineal deſcent from all the *Britiſh*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman*, and *Scottiſh* Kings of Great *Britain*, and by his Mother from the *Bourbons* of *France*, the *Auſtrians* of *Spain*, the *Medices* of *Florence*, *&c.* Being alſo allied to all or moſt of them, by his own, & the Marriages of his Royal Brother our preſent moſt Glorious Monarch, his Aunt, his Siſters, and his two Nieces, their Royal Highneſs *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, and the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark*.

He

He was born at St. *James's*, *May* the 29th, 1630, it being the Birth-day of St. *Auguſtine*, who was ſent by *Gregory* the great to our *Anceſtors* the *Saxons*, and was the firſt founder of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. At which time a new Star appeared over the Palace where he was born, which ſeemed from Heaven to congratulate his Birth, by darting its promiſing Influence upon the place of it, and diſplaying is officious Beams in the midſt of that Air, wherein he firſt drew breath, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the ſhining Sun; which thing was generally lookt upon as an Emblem of his future greatneſs and glory: The Sun likewiſe, ſoon after, ſuffered an Eclipſe, which was a ſad preſage, as ſome even then divined, that his Glory ſhould be for ſome time eclipſed. His Royal Father, having in him obtained that bleſſing which he deſired above all things in the World, went to St. *Pauls* and there in a publique and ſolemn manner gave thanks to Almighty God from whoſe bounty he received him.

He was baptized in the 27th of the following *June*, by Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*: *Abbot*, who was then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being under an

Irregularity, according to the decent and laudible Cuſtom of the Church of *England*, whereof he was then made a Son, that ſo he might hereafter be her Supream Head and Mediator; His Godfathers were his two Uncles *Lewis* 13. King of *France*, and *Frederick*, Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, repreſented by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Richmond*, who were then the two firſt Peers of the Realm and his Godmother was the Queen Mother of *France*, repreſented by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*.

He was committed in his Infancy to the indulgent Care, and pious Tuition of the Counteſs of *Dorſet*; and when his growing parts rendred him too maſculine for a Feminine Conduct, he was delivered to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, under whoſe Direction and Government he imbib'd thoſe Principles of Virtue, and deſire of Learning, which ſerv'd as an Introduction to fit and prepare him for his farther and more liberal Education, under the Learned Dr. *Duppa*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, by whoſe extraordinary Pains and Induſtry his Great Soul was firſt ſeaſoned with thoſe Rudiments of Knowledge and Learning, which afterward by his own obſervation

obſervation and experience received ſo vaſt an increaſe, and rendred him that ſagacious and politick, as well as good and gracious, King, which the whole *ſeries* of his Reign diſcovered him to be.

About this time, by Order, not Creation, he was firſt called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, the Revenues belonging to each of them being aſſigned him for the maintenance of his Court, the ſeveral Offices whereof were pitcht upon and appointed by the King his Father who, taking great delight to ſee his Children about him, ordered the Prince to attend him in ſeveral of his Progreſſes, and particularly in that to *Oxford*, where they were entertained with the acting of the Royal Slave, which prov'd too prophetick of both their approaching Calamities. During his abode there, his Diſcourſe with ſeveral Learned Doctors was ſo extraordinary, and above the common capacity of his years, that it adminiſtred matter of amazement and wonder to the whole Univerſity.

In the Parliament, which was called ſoon after, he took his place among the Peers, who were now his equals, but were hereafter to become his

Subjects, and there he first tryed how a Coronet would fit his Royal Head, before the death of his Father called him to wear the Imperial Crown; and about this time he was with great Solemnity installed Knight of the Garter, together with divers of the Nobility who were his Attendance, and received the same Honour with him.

But after all this a sad misfortune dampt the publick Joy and threatned the untimely setting of our Rising Sun, for in the year 39 he first brake his Arm and was afterward afflicted with a Violent Fever and a small spice of the Jaundice but it was not long before those Clouds of fear were dissipated by the perfect recovery of his health.

Some unhappy misunderstandings beginning now to grow between his Father and the Parliament who, knowing a King would do no wrong himself, resolved to call some of his Council to an account for pretended miscarriages, among whom the most Eminent was the Earl of *Strafford*, who first led the way, being by no known Law, as that Judicious King, who was present at the Tryal, declared attainted of Treason, and the King prevailed upon

by

by the Importunity of his People, and a Letter from the Earl himſelf, (who rather choſe to be made a Sacrifice, than to hazard his Majeſties Affairs,) to ſign a Warrant for his Execution. But the King's tender Conſcience, being extreamly checkt and troubled for that unwilling conſent, preſently ſent a Letter to the Peers, which was written with his own Hand, to deſire them to forbear, or at leaſt delay, the Execution of his Sentence, and, that it might be the more prevalent with them, he ſent it by the Prince, which was the firſt Publick Buſineſs we find him imployed in, which, being a work of Mercy, proved ſo good an *Omen* of his own Inclination, that it afterward became ſo predominant in him, as even to rejoyce over his exacteſt Juſtice, although he could not then prevail on the behalf of that unfortunate Earl: And not long after we find him engaged in another Publick Buſineſs, being one of the Chief Aſſiſtants in the performing the Solemnities of his Siſters Marriage with the Prince of *Orange*.

The

The fatal Breach between the King and Parliament growing ſtill wider, and haſtening to an unnatural Rupture, he reſolved, notwithſtanding many of his Nobles and Faithful Servants proffered their Service to curb any Inſolencies that ſhould be attempted on him, to remove himſelf ſome time from *London*, hoping that thereby their Jealouſies and Rumours would waſt and periſh; and therefore commanded the Prince, together with his Queen, and ſome of his Servants, to attend him at *Greenwich*, and from thence to *Hampton-Court*, whither ſome Commiſſioners being ſent to him for a Pacification, they made their firſt Application to the Prince, as the moſt proper Mediator between the King and his two Houſes of Parliament: So early was it, that he began to tread in the ſteps and labour to imitate his Grandfather, in becoming a Peace-maker, which not ſucceeding according to expectation, he accompanied his Father, together with the preſent King to *Theobalds*, leaving the Rebels to fret themſelves at their eſcape, and from thence into the North, where he beheld a black Cloud begin to gather which, though ſmall

in

in appearance, yet was big with that diſmal Storm, that in a ſhort time ſpread it ſelf over his Father, himſelf, and three Nations: For the King, repairing to *Hull*, to take a view of that Magazine, which his Treaſure had purchaſed, and his Crown claimed as one of its *Jura Regalia*, the Magiſtrate thereof bearing a Sword by a Power only derived from him, without which Majeſty it ſelf is but a Solemn Trifle, and Authority but a gilded Pageantry, He was by Sir *John Hotham*, who was ſent thither by the Parliament, denied Entrance, and forced to wait with the Prince and the Duke of *York* at the Gate of that Garriſon, and could at laſt prevail for nothing more, but only his two Sons being admitted as Children, to ſee the Town; which when they had done, they accompanied their Father to *York*, whom they now beheld deprived of that which *Gr. Tholoſanus* calls the chiefeſt Flower in a Prince's Diadem, and diſarmed of that Majeſty which of right belonged to him, where the Prince was by his Father made a Captain of a choice Guard of Loyal Nobles and Gentlemen, who there repaired to him: For ſuch was the

the Indulgent Care he had of his Subjects, that he resolved they should hazard themselves no farther in the defence of his Person, than he would hazard himself for the defence of their Laws & Liberties; and that his Eldest Son, who was to succeed him in his Crown & Dignity, should accompany them in all those Dangers to which they should expose themselves. In which Quality he attended his Father, through the several Stages he past, as a Partner with him in his Troubles, the greatest whereof was, as himself declares in his incomparable Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, his unhappy involving his Innocent Offspring in those Troubles, that deserved to have been born to better Fortune.

At *Edghill* Fight, notwithstanding the tenderness of his years, he gave such proof of his Valour and Courage, and was so little terrified with the horrid noise of Guns, Drums and Trumpets, the prancing of Horses, and the clashing of Swords, to which he had till then never been used, that the Earl of *Lindsey*, who observed it, said to those about him, There is a Child born

to

to end that War we now begin. But the Battel being loſt, he returned to his Father at *Oxford*, where he was committed to the Care of his Kinſman, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, then Chancellor of that Univerſity, who provided him ſeveral Tutors in each Language, Art and Science, wherein it concerned him as a Prince to be acquainted; and he applied himſelf to his Studies with as much pain and ſerioufneſs as the ſevereſt Gown-man in the place, his great Soul entertaining nothing but deep thoughts, profound Maxims, and Intricate Myſteries, and he would ſeverely rebuke the unſavoury Speeches that tortured his chaſter Ears, and condemn thoſe Oaths and Curſes which were too common among the vainer Scholars; during which time he was viſited with the Meaſels, the danger whereof only ſerv'd to teach us how to prize him the more for that hazard.

But the War between his Father and the Parliament ſtill growing more fierce, he once more left the Univerſity and took the Field, laying aſide his Books, that he might handle his Arms, and endeavoured to ſignalize his Valour by

appearng

appearing in the Head of ſome Forces in the North, which were conducted by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcaſtle*, wherein he was ſo ſucceſsful at firſt, that Victory ſeemed to wait on his Banner.

Shortly after he marcht Weſtward, where by order from the Court he was attended by ſuch a Noble Retinue as was moſt ſuitable to the Grandeur of a Prince of *Wales*, about which time he caſt off his *Ich Dien*, and aſſum'd his State, ſetting up his Royal Court, and making choice of ſuch Officers as were moſt pleaſing to him; about which although his Father took ſome exception, yet he proteſted that he greatly admired the diſcretion of his choice in general, having ſo brave and well ordered a Family that it was ſecond to none, but his Uncle *Henrys*; and King-ſhip was firſt exerciſed within the narrow compaſs of an Houſhold, (ſaith *Selden*,) which increaſing to Cities, Kings were content to Reign therein until thoſe Cities, ſwelling into Nations, they enlarged the bounds of their Soveraign Rule.

The King of *Portugal*, about this time, hoping to make an advantage of the

Kings

Kings neceſſity, offered ſeveral fair Propoſals, ſuitable to his preſent exigencies and troubles, which were uſhered in by the offer of a Match between his Daughter and the Prince, but for ſome reaſons of State, his Father thought not fit to accept the offer, but yet returned ſuch an anſwer as held him in ſuſpence, being not willing either to gratifie or diſpleaſe him.

The Prince, in the mean while, was buſily employing himſelf in endeavouring to make up a much happier Match between his Father and the Parliament, by ſome overtures of Peace which he made to Sir *Thom. Fairfax*, the Chief Commander of the Parliament-Forces, but was diſappointed therein, for *Fairfax* gave him to unſtand that thoſe Propoſals were fitter to be made to the Parliament, than to him, who was only their Servant: Wherefore he, ſeeing that *Fairfax* would do nothing himſelf towards a Peace, being reſolved to try all poſſible means for the ſetling this diſtracted Kingdom, deſired leave for the Lord *Hopton* and *Culpeper* to attend the King and mediate with him for a treaty with the Parliament, to which *Fairfax* anſwered that

that he would desire the Prince to disband his Army, and promised that he would thereupon conduct him with Honour to the Parliament, to which request he commanded the Lord *Capel* to make the following Answer, *viz.*

Sir, His Highness did not believe that his overture, in engaging himself in the Mediation of a Blessed Peace for this miserable Kingdom, would have brought him an Inhibition to quit his duty to his Father, by dividing his Interest from that of his Majesties, or hereby he should render himself unworthy and uncapable of the fruit of that Peace, which he laboured to obtain, and that of his former propositions might be consented to, he hoped God would so bless his sincere intentions and designs, as to make him a Blessed Instrument to preserve this Kingdom from desolation, but if that were rejected he should give the World no cause to believe that he would forfeit that Honour, which only could preserve him in a capacity of doing that service, and should with patience attend Gods pleasure, until his endeavours might be applyed, with the preservation of his Innocency.

During

During his abode in the Camp, he ſhew'd himſelf to be of ſuch an Heroick Temperature, that he enjoyed an equal Calm and Peace in the midſt of all the Confuſions of War, and enjoyed his Learned Thoughts as quietly in the Tumults of a Camp, as in the Retirements of a School. In the exerciſing of his Arms, he did not wholly leave his Books, nor forget his Studies, eſpecially of the Mathematicks, which, beſides their general uſefulneſs, as Refiners of the Mind, were more than ordinarily neceſſary to him, to aſſiſt him in carrying on the ſeveral Stratagems of War in Fortification, Sieges, Battels, &c. wherein he was but little below his incomparable Father, in theſe things the exacteſt Prince in Chriſtendom.

But, not being able to accompliſh that Reconciliation between his Father and the Parliament which he deſigned, he returned again to *Oxford*, where he was more ſucceſsful in another undertaking of the like nature, *viz.* the reconciling his two Couſins, *Rupert* & *Maurice*, to his Father, accounting it too hard to entertain inward Broils, when outward Calamities were ſo heavy and preſſing, and that thoſe who had Adverſaries enough al-

ready, ought not to become each others Enemies: nor did he only uſe his Intereſt with his Father, to be reconciled to the two Princes, but even to his open and profeſt Enemies alſo, notwithſtanding the failure of his late undertakings, as appears by his Letters to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of *Decemb.* 15, 26, & 29. and that of *Jan.* 25, 17, 24. and ſeveral others. But, while he was ſpeaking for Peace, ſome, whoſe malice and intereſt had made implacable, & guilt rendred deſperate, were preparing for the Battel, (whilſt this Prince of Peace was negotiating for Peace, and in order thereunto prepared to raiſe the Train'd Bands of his Dukedom of *Cornwal*, by incouragement of his Royal preſence,) *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* fall with incredible fury upon his Army, commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, at *Torrington*, and vanquiſht it: Which news being brought to him at *Launceſton*, he removed from thence to *Pendennis*, where continually receiving ſome unhappy news, and unwelcome Meſſages purſuing each other, ſo faſt as the Waves do in a Storm, and coming as thick as the Meſſengers of *Jobs* calamity, was adviſed to conſult his own ſafety, and (ſince he could not by all his perſuaſions

ſuaſions procure a pacification either by Art or Arguments, dint of Sword, or ſtrength of Reaſon,) preſerve himſelf, the Kingdoms growing hope, for happier days, wherein he might with more fortunate ſucceſs apply his ſoveraign Balm to heal the bleeding Breaches of the three dying Nations.

Whereupon he went from thence, attended by the Lords *Goring* and *Culpepper*, and Sir *Edw. Hide*, to the Iſle of *Scilly*, which ſtill remained in the King's hands; where he was no ſooner arrived, but he received a ſolemn Invitation from the Parliament in a ſeeming tender & dutiful way, to come to them, and remain in ſuch places as they ſhould think convenient, and entertain ſuch Attendants & Counſellors only as ſhould be appointed by them. Upon receiving of which Invitation, he adviſed with thoſe about him, what was beſt to be done in that caſe, and they returned the following Anſwer, *viz.*

That it became not him to do any thing in a matter of that concern, without his Fathers privity, advice, and free conſent; and therefore, before he could ſatisfie the Honourable Houſe, he deſired a Paſs might be granted to the L. *Capel* to go to the King at *Oxford*, to take his

Advice, and hearken to his Royal Pleaſure, and make ſome overtures to him in order to a Peace. He deſired likewiſe the aſſiſtance of the Reverend Father in God, the Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, whoſe deportment toward the Publick was ſo moderate and inoffenſive, that even Jealouſie it ſelf entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of him.

But, through the ill Influence ſome perſons had on Publick Councils, there was nothing done in either of thoſe particulars, althô, when Providence was pleaſed to deprive him of Civil Comfort, and Secular Attendants, it had been but charity to have ſupplied him with ſome faithful, good and able Chaplain, by whoſe Piety, Learning and Prayers, he might be the better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other Enjoyments. But they not only refuſed to gratifie him in that reaſonable Requeſt, but alſo by an Ordinance barr'd him from all future converſe with ſuch Loyal Attendants, as would otherwiſe have willingly waited on him there, to deceive the tediouſneſs of that Solitude; ſo that thoſe, who would now adventure to repair to him, or ſupply their unhappy abſence by the civil correſpondence of a Letter, were to die without

without mercy. During his abode there, he ſpent a day or two in viewing the Iſle of *Gernſey*, the only remainder of our Rights to *Normandy*, to try if peradventure the perſons, or the place, would furniſh him with the knowledge of any thing whereof he was a Stranger before, and which he might obſerve for the future benefit of his Kingdom: For, as he afterward wrote to the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of *London*, he neglected not any Maritime obſervations, which might be uſeful to Engliſh Traffick, the ſtands commodiouſneſs for Shipping & Trade, from the Eaſtern parts to the Weſt, in the middle way between St. *Malo's*, and the River *Seine*, the capaciouſneſs of its Harbour, together with the ſmaller Iſlands, *Alderneley*, *Lerke* and *Sarnia*.

After this, he betook himſelf to *France*, to viſit his Mother in that Court, where he was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of Joy, where, after having received his Mothers Bleſſing, and the Complements of that Court, he retired with her to the *Louvre*. But, his active diſpoſition rendring him ſoon weary of a tedious and eaſie Retirement, he deſired leave of his Mother to go with the Duke of *Orleans* into the Field that Summer in

the Head of a *French* Army, which then marcht into *Flanders* againſt the *Spaniards*. The Queen wrote to the King, to know his pleaſure about it, but he abſolutely refuſed it, accounting it beneath the Princes of *Great Britain* to ſerve any, as thoſe who underſtood better how to command, than be commanded, in a Field, having formerly had Kings and Emperours in pay under them; & in regard that our homebred miſeries afforded Employment ſo agreeable with his active ſpirit, that he thought he ought not to ſpare himſelf for any dangerous engagements in Foreign Quarrels, and therefore adviſed him to expect Inſtructions from him how to diſpoſe of himſelf more to his Kings, his Fathers, his own, and Countreys Service.

Whereupon, in obedience to his Royal Fathers command, he quitted his own wiſhes, and waited for farther directions from the King. During which time, the varieties of Airs, he had paſſed through, diſtempered his tender body, & brought upon him an Aguiſh Fever, which continued ſome weeks, until by the goodneſs of God, the care of his Loyal Attendants, and the skill of his Phyſicians, he was recovered to ſo good a temper, as

to

to attend his Fathers Affairs, according to thoſe Inſtructions he received from him in an incloſed Commiſſion, which was then ſent him to be Generaliſſimo of all the Loyal Forces which had ſurvived thoſe late unhappy defects; that declared to the World, that good and ill ſucceſs are no infallible demonſtrations of Innocence or Guilt, ſince there is a juſt man that periſheth in his Righteouſneſs, and the wicked ſometime proſper in their wickedneſs.

The Kingdom of *Scotland*, tender of his Safety, Honour & Conſcience, humbly move his Father not to ſuffer him, who was their preſent hope and their future happineſs, to be expoſed in his younger years, to ſuch Foreign Temptations and Dangers, as might have thoſe unhappy Influences upon theſe Kingdoms that the Child unborn might rue for, ſince Princes are ſo publick, that within the Fate of their own ſingle perſons are involved the concerns of whole Nations, (*Rex eſt publica pars major meliorq; mei.*) Whereupon the King wrote to him to wait upon his Mother, and obey her dutifully in all things, Religion only excepted, and that he ſhould not ſtir any whither without his particular directions.

But, not satisfied therewith, they write to him themselves, by their Committee of Estates, to invite him thither, protesting that none of the present Calamities, except his Fathers distress and restraint, afflicted them so much as his absence; and, seeing their Forces had at first entred *England*, to do their duty to Religion, his Majesty, and himself, they humbly desired his Highness to honour and countenance their Pious and Loyal Endeavours with his gracious presence, and Royal Person, for whose Safety, Honour and Freedom they engaged the publick Faith of that Kingdom, which Invitation was signed by *Craford* and *Lindsey*.

But he had learned, by too sad experience, what faithless Trustees they were of Princes persons, and thought it dangerous for the Son to trust himself with those who had betrayed his Father. Liberty being so much the desire of all men, that it is not reason Princes should hazard Captivity, since all free-born Souls embrace a Freedom, though it be but to wander like forlorn Exiles in a strange Land, rather than a Restraint upon their Persons, their Judgments and their Consciences, within the Precincts of their own Palaces; wherefore he intended to wait

with

with patience till Providence might find out ſome way for his return to his own Country, with more Safety and Honour, and ſent the Earl of *Lauderdale* back with this Anſwer to the States of *Scotland*, *That their Civility, which might well become the beſt Subjects, ſhould, upon the firſt opportunity, have that return from him, which might become the beſt of Princes.* And, in the mean time, in purſuance of thoſe Inſtructions he had received from his Father, he negotiated his Affairs in the *French* Court, where, by his Mothers aſſiſtance, he prevailed for ſome thouſands of pounds, to be advanced by that Court, toward the furtherance of his Majeſties Affairs in *Ireland*, as an Earneſt of greater Aſſiſtance to be afforded hereafter.

Some remainders of his *Corniſh* Forces now geting to a head, and others upon order Marching to him out of *Ireland*, he met them in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, with ſuch Forces as he had procured beyond the Seas; where he poſſeſt himſelf of ſome Veſſels which lay in the Iſland, & joyned them to thoſe which he had brought with him out of *France*: the news whereof arriving at *Weſtminſter* a Letter is diſpatcht from the Parliament, and delivered

livered him by Colonel *Ruſſel*, Governour of *Guernzey*, wherein they humbly deſired that, for his Fathers, his own, and for his three more than miſerable Kingdoms ſake, he would come among his Fathers Subjects, offering thereupon to afford all that lay in their power to give, or himſelf could expect to receive. But not daring to truſt them, he waved their Complement, and proceeded to manage his affairs by Sea and Land to that advantage, if they had had their deſired ſucceſs, as might have enabled the King in the approaching treaty, to ſtand upon ſuch terms as conduced moſt to his Honour, both as a Man, a Chriſtian and a King. In order whereunto he came attended by the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, *Branford* and *Ruthen*, and Sir *Henry Palmer*, with twenty Sail of Ships towards *Yarmouth*, and landed there with 2000 Men, where the divided multitude entertained him according to their various Inclinations, ſome with an *Hoſanna*, and others with a Crucifie.

And as himſelf had taken care of his affairs at Sea, ſo he ſent commiſſions to ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Truſt, whom he commanded to take care of

them

them by Land, *viz. Ormond*, *Inchequeen* and *Montgomery* in *Ireland*, the Committee of State and their Officers in *Scotland*, the Lords *Goring* and *Capel* in *Eſſex* and *Kent*; *Glenham* and *Langdale* in the North; *Hales*, *Lucas*, *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, *Owen*, *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Holland* and *Peterborough*, in thoſe places where each of them reſided; and Letters of correſpondence paſt mutually between him and the *Scots*, his Father and the City, in ſome whereof which were intercepted, the City, the Lords, and ſome of the Commons declared themſelves ready to contribute all poſſible aſiſtance for the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences.

For whoſe encouragement he was graciouſly pleaſed to declare himſelf rather the aſſerter of his Peoples Priviledges than his own Rights, as though he fought againſt his Subjects, not to make himſelf, but them, happy againſt their wills; for in a Declaration which he then publiſht, he Solemnly proteſted 1. For the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, according to his Fathers, agreement in the 26th of the preceding *December* 2. The performance of the ſaid agreement and purſuance of the conceſſions on the

the Kings part. 3. The reſtoring of the King to a Perſonal Treaty. 4. The juſt Priviledges of Parliament. 5. An Act of Oblivion. 6. The liberty of the Subject, aboliſhing exciſe, contribution, forfeit, quarter, &c. 7. Disbanding the Armies and ſetling of Peace. 8. The Defence of the narrow Seas, the ſecuring of Trade, and the ſupport of the Navy and Seamen, was all he deſigned in his preſent undertakings. Which Gracious Declaration he ſeconded with a Letter to the Lords, wherein he required 1 That a Perſonal Treaty might be had in ſuch place and manner as might conſiſt with the Kings Honour, Safety and Freedom, that ſo it might not be blemiſhed with any Face of reſtraint, 2. That *Scotland* might be included. 3. That in the mean time there might be a ceſſation of Arms, and an orderly moderate ſubſiſtance, mutually agreed on for the Forces on both ſides to the Souldiers content, and the Subjects eaſe: But ſuch was their ſtubborn peeviſhneſs, that all his conceſſions were ſlighted. and his endeavours came to nothing.

Wherefore ſeeing he could do nothing by fair means, he applyed himſelf to Force, and made ſeveral Honourable,

but

but unſucceſsful attempts, to reduce his Rebellious Subjects to the obedience of their Soveraign. *Poyer* and *Langhorn* reduce *South Wales*, raiſe a Thouſand Men, keep *Pembroke*, *Tenby* and *Chepſtow*, beat *Fleming* and *Horton*, but ſoon after received a total rout at St. *Fogins*, *Tenby* and *Pembroke* being ſurrendred, and *Langhorn* and *Poyer* forced to ſubmit to Mercy: in whoſe behalf he wrote to St. *Thomas Fairfax* from the *Downs*, where he then lay with his Fleet, that they might have the uſage and terms of Souldiers of War, as thoſe had who were taken by him. To which Letter the General anſwered with all due reſpects to his Highneſs, that it was not in his power to Act further, the Parliament having ordered their Tryals, he dar'd not interpoſe their Juſtice; but only pray for Mercy and Peace, ſubſcribing himſelf his Highneſs's Humble Servant. Sir *John Owen* likewiſe reduced *North Wales* to as little purpoſe.

Nor had his affairs much better ſucceſs in *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Kent:* And the City, who having firſt petitioned and then fought for their own Peace, the Kings Honour, Safety and Liberty, and the Kingdoms Eſtabliſhment, were able to accompliſh

accompliſh nothing to purpoſe. The *Kentiſh* Men Rendezvouzed at *Blackheath* under Sir *Edw. Hales*, who commanded them as General, Sir *Geo. Liſley*, and others; offering a Parly to Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, to which he returned this Anſwer, &c.

SIRS, I received a Meſſage from you for a Paſs, for ſome Gentlemen to come and and Treat, according to an Order of Parliament, but know of no ſuch Order of theirs, or Authority of yours to appoint Commiſſioners for ſuch a purpoſe; & finding you & them in Arms againſt the Parliament, I cannot admit of a Treaty; but if ye ſhall forthwith lay down your Arms, and return home, I doubt not of the Parliaments mercy, to ſuch as have been deluded into this Rebellion, and their Exemplary Juſtice to the Chief Actors therein. Of which Anſwer having ſatisfied the Prince, they did by directions from him make this Reply. 1. That an univerſal and perpetual Dictate of Nature, even ſelf-preſervation, not to invade others Rights, but to ſecure their own, had drawn them together. 2. 'Twas an undoubted Power over them ordained of God they did then obey, and ſo did neither Tumult nor Rebel. 3. That Providence which had given

given them that opportunity, they dare not neglect, nor could they lay down their Arms without the forfeiture of their Reason, and their Honour; and that, as for the uncertain mercy which he offered to the deluded many, whom he thought knew not why they were come together, & the certain Justice he had threatned their Leaders withal, he might assure himself there was but one Soul in that great Body, which was therefore resolved to stand or fall together as one Man, being not tempted with any hope, except that of returning to their ancient Rights, Priviledges, Governments and Settlements; and altogether uncapable of any fear, save only that of relapsing into their former slavery: And that the fair managing of their business, was a sufficient demonstration of their Inclinations to Peace, entreating him therefore rather to make the Country his Friend than his Enemy.

The General being inexorable, and and they resolved, both Armies met at a barricadoed Bridge, between the *Hearth* and *Graves-end*, where both sides strenuously disputed the Passage, till the Country-men retired back into their main Body, being over-powered by multi-

multitudes, rather than overcome by valour; whereupon (notwithſtanding they gained another Paſs, which was diſputed between them and theParliamentarians) they retired to *Maidſtone*, which they ſtoutly maintained againſt the firſt and ſecond, but yielded upon a third Aſſault, though with a great ſlaughter of their Enemies, who obtained that with great loſs, which they parted with not without extream regret; whereupon *Rocheſter* is quitted, and left to the mercy of the Enemy.

In the mean time their General, the Prince, lay in the *Downs* with his Fleet in a very good condition, waiting for that ſupply of Land Forces, which his Brother the Prince of *Orange* was induſtriouſly raiſing for his Service in *Holland*, and ſeizing ſeveral Merchant Ships not to be releaſed under 200000 *l.* Intending his Subjects future gain by that preſent loſs, by employing of it in the defence of their Laws and Liberties: But underſtanding that the Caſtle of *Deale* was in danger of being taken, he Landed ſome Forces for its Relief, who were Vanquiſht almoſt as ſoon as Landed, a Rebellion ſeeming to have chained the Goddeſs Fortune, (as the *Trojans* did of old,)

old) to its side. For it was so deplorably successful, that whenever it met with Loyalty, it presently vanquisht it.

But, notwithstanding this loss, he would have hazarded himself for the relief of *Colchester*, wherein Sir *Charles Lucas* and the Lord *Capel* with their *Essex*-Forces were besieged, had he not been disswaded by those about him, and informed that Coll. *Scroop* had undertaken the relief of that City, with a greater number of Men than was there under his Command, whereupon he desisted from his intention and reserved his hitherto unblemished Reputation, to expect a fairer opportunity: And still continued at Anchor in the *Downs*.

But *Fairfax*, whose actions were performed as soon as thought, and whose designs did almost prevent his performances, carried on the Siege of *Colchester* with so much strictness and resolution, that he very much striatned those Valiant Worthies, who had somewhat weakly imprisoned themselves within a place where they would be sooner tired than overcome, when it might have been more discretion to have taken the Field, and there have improved their

opportunity of performing ſomething to the Honour of their Maſter, and the good of their Country, by the gleaning of thoſe Loyal Subjects, who would have been continually reſorting to them, and the taking all advantages againſt their Enemy, or at leaſt they might have died Nobly and revenged. However they reſolved gallantly to defend the place to the laſt extremity, their Valour being able to ſuffer whatſoever the Enemy without was able to reduce them to; but Famine within became a more prevailing Adverſary than *Fairfax*'s Army; and when Courage and Reſolution would not yield to the one, Nature was forc'd to ſtoop to the other. For their want of Proviſions were ſo great, that Dogs and Cats were accounted great Rarities, ſo that the Souldier thought it a Relief to be employed where he was moſt probable to meet with death, as weary of the lingring doom of departing by piecemeals, and dying daily. Yet they yielded not the City, till they were informed of the *Scots* defeat at *Preſton*, and that the Navy was revolted from the Prince again, it being as unconſtant as the Wind, and as unſtable as the Water

that

that it ſailed upon: And indeed what could be expected, but that thoſe, who were Traitors to their firſt, ſhould be unfaithful to their ſecond, Maſter? And then thoſe Deſperado's reſolved to make a general Sally upon the Enemy; for ſince there now remained no Calamity unſuffered, which they could poſſibly fear; they thought it was better to go forth and meet their ſudden doom, than wait for it within the Town; but the Souldiers and Towns-men ſhrinking, they were forced to yield themſelves to the General, as Priſoners of War.

His brave and War-like Attempts, for his Fathers Reſtauration, having thus proved unſucceſsful, he was forced to content himſelf with being unhappy, ſince he had approved himſelf to be Loyal; and ſo he retired to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where he reſided with his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, to avoid the Treachery of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who was dealt withal to trapan him, and had for that purpoſe, as himſelf ſaid, as much from thoſe in *England*, as would maintain the Queen and Princeſs, and defray all the incident Charges which they

put that Kingdom to: As alſo to avoid Suſpicion, which the Parliament might have of him during the time of the approaching Treaty. About which having heard ſome uncertain Rumours, he wrote to his Father by the Lord *Seymour* for better ſatisfaction, that ſo he might manage his Deſigns and Counſels ſuitable to his Fathers Exigencies, as he expreſt in his Letter, which was to this purpoſe:

SIR, Having no means to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties Affairs, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is altogether as uncertain) Reports, I have ſent this Bearer Seymour *to wait upon your Majeſty, and to bring me an account of it; and that I may alſo aſſure your Majeſty, that I do not only pray for your Majeſty, according to my duty, but ſhall always be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that Bleſſing which I now humbly beg of your Majeſty*, &c.

And being now big with expectation of the joyful News of ſuch a ſetled Peace, as might be ſafe and honourable to his Majeſty, and advantagious to the Subject, he receives Information that the Treaty was begun, and ſo far con-

concluded, on ſuch Reaſonable Demands of the two Houſes, and Royal Conceſſions of his Majeſty, as upon three days mature deliberation it was reſolved, that the King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Houſes, was a ground for them to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the Nation, with his Majeſties conſent; Who was in order thereunto to have been reſtored to the Freedom, Safety and Honour, that became his place, he thereupon aſſured himſelf, that his Majeſty having now, in order to an accommodation, granted as much as modeſty could ask, there would undoubtedly follow a Peace and ſettlement of the Kingdom, with an univerſal ſatisfaction, and that the happineſs, and not the error of the Government, were ſome Mens grievances, which proved but too true. For to ſuch a height was the Malice and Impudence of *Cromwel* and ſome other Officers of the Army, now grown, that they reſolved to employ their Power againſt thoſe that gave it them, and to oppoſe themſelves againſt the wiſht for Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom; therefore finding that all the pretence of Authority now failed them by the Parliaments Re-

ſolution to ſet the King at Liberty, they now make uſe of plain Force, and boldly adventure to contradict the Reſolves of the Parliament it ſelf, from whom they had firſt received their pretended Commiſſions, and preſume without Law firſt to impriſon them in their own Houſe, and then to ſequeſter as many of them as they pleaſe from coming thither. Whereby, having patcht a *Junto* of their own, which they ſtill ridiculouſly called by the name of Parliament, they renewed the Vote of *Non*-Addreſſes, declare the Treaty at the Iſle of *Wight* diſhonourable and dangerous, and therefore proteſt againſt it, and then proceeded to diſarm the City and Country, that ſo there might not be a Sword drawn for the good and Peace of the Kingdom. Which obſtacles being thus removed, the Army encouraged the *Junto* with a Remonſtrance, wherein they propoſed that the People ſhould agree finally to take away the Government by King, Lords and Commons, whereby they made good thoſe Charges which had formerly been made againſt the Parliament, and their Army, and from which they had endeavoured by

ſo

ſo many Oaths and Proteſtations to clear themſelves. And that they ſhould, in the name of the People, proceed againſt all Malefactors, from the higheſt to the loweſt, wherein they impudently included, and chiefly aimed at, the King himſelf, who was in order thereunto cloſely impriſoned, and deprived by them of the comfort of his Loyal Attendants, and of the Honour of that State and Ceremony that was due to him.

But theſe were but eſſays toward, and beginnings of, Sorrows to that Pious, though unfortunate King. Firſt, It was moved in the Houſe on the firſt of the following *January*, that he might be tryed as a Traytor: Which horrible, as well as ſenſeleſs, Vote was paſt into an ordinance, and ſent to the Houſe of Lords. Upon which the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to his Eternal Honour, did declare that, in regard the King was the chief of the three States in Parliament, he could not poſſibly be a Traytor to the reſt, ſince Treaſon always goes upward, and the loweſt only are capable of being Traytors to the higheſt. Which Speech the Earl of *Northumberland* ſeconded by

declaring his opinion, that ſuppoſe it was without queſtion, that the King was firſt in the War, yet they had neither Law, Cuſtom or Preſident, to make that War Treaſon in his Majeſty, and the Lord *Say* affirmed that he knew not who ſhould to ſay to Kings, *Ye are unrighteous*, or to Princes, *Ye are ungodly*. And Kings (added *Pembroke*) they ſay can do no wrong, much leſs can they be guilty of Treaſon, whereupon the Ordinance was immediately thrown out of that Honourable Houſe.

But the *Junto* mad upon their ungodly and deſtructive project reſolved notwithſtanding that the Perſons, impowered therein to try the King, ſhould proceed accordingly, altho the Lords conſented not. Which unexpected News being brought the Prince by *Seymour*, together with the Ordinance for his Fathers Tryal, he was thereby ſurprized with ſo much Paſſion and Amazement, to ſee their Oaths of Allegiance, Covenants, Proteſtations, and Treaties for Peace, conclude in Paricide and Murder, that he knew not how to contain himſelf, until he began to conſider with himſelf, that Paſſion muſt not be ſuffered to

diſturb

diſturb reaſon in ſuch an exigency of affairs; wherein its conſultations were to be imployed in the weighty buſineſs of ſaving a Father, a King, and three Kingdoms; and that it became him therefore to give himſelf rather to diſcreet Advice and Council, than to ſullen grief: It being more Princely and Heroick, to prevent the miſchief, than either to be angry at it, or revenge it when it was done. And in order thereunto he ſolicits *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, and the *Scots*, to interpoſe themſelves in his Fathers behalf, who accordingly, by their reſpective Embaſſadors and Meſſengers, did mediate for his Life, offering themſelves, together with the *Engliſh* Peers, to become Pledges for him. But the Barbarous *Junto* were inexorable, their guilt having made them ſo deſperate, that they thought themſelves no otherwiſe ſafe from former miſchiefs committed by them, but by perpetuating a far greater and unparallel'd wickedneſs, thoſe Monſters of Men hurrying his Majeſty from the Iſle of *Wight*, to bring him to his Tryal, as tho they had deſigned to explain, to the wandring World, the meaning of that Riddle, which was contained in their pretence of defend-

ing

ing him, whilſt they fought againſt him.

Being unjuſtly condemned by the pretended high Court of Juſtice, ſet up by the *Junto* for his Tryal, to loſe his ſacred Head, he did upon the near approach of his death take care, with good *Hezekiah*, to ſet his Houſe in order, giving charge concerning the ſame to the *Dutch* Embaſſador, with whom he was as private, as the rudeneſs of the Souldiers would permit him. For the moſt part of the *Saturday* in the Afternoon, ordering him to carry his Bleſſing to his Son, and deliver him ſuch Inſtructions, as equally declare the greatneſs of our loſs in him, and our happineſs in his Succeſſor, whoſe actions were always ſteered according to them, wherein he breathed more like an Angel than a Man, or at leaſt, as one then already entred upon the confines of Eternity, and within view of Immortality and Perfection, as you may perceive by the Inſtructions themſelves, which are as follow.

" Son, if theſe Papers with ſome " others, wherein I have ſet down " the

" the private reflections of my Con-
" ſcience, and my moſt impartial
" thoughts, touching the chief paſ-
" ſages that have been moſt remark-
" able, or diſputed, in my late Troubles,
" come to your hands, to whom they
" are chiefly deſigned, they may be ſo
" far uſeful to you, as to ſtate your
" Judgment aright in what hath paſ-
" ſed, whereof a pious uſe is the beſt
" that can be made, and they may
" give you ſome Directions how to
" remedy the preſent, and prevent fu-
" ture Diſtempers.

This advantage of Wiſdom you have above other Princes, that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the the experience of Trouble, and the exerciſe of Patience, wherein Piety and all other Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in Winter, than in warmth and ſerenity of times, or amidſt thoſe delights which uſually attend Princes Courts in time of Peace and Plenty, which are prone either to root up all Plants of true Virtue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome Leaves,

or

or withering Formalities of them, without any real Fruit, ſuch as tend to the publick good, for which Princes ſhall always remember they are born, and by Providence deſigned. The Evidence of which different Education the Holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*, the one prepared by many Afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom, the other ſoftened by the unparallell'd Proſperity of *Solomon*'s Court; and ſo corrupted both for Peace, Honour and Kingdom, by thoſe Flatteries which are as inſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from Fruit, whom adverſity, like cold Weather, driveth away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles Le bon*, than *Legrand*, good, than great: I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you upon that exerciſe of his Gifts and Graces beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious Inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe princely Endowments and Employments which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare, of thoſe over whom God ſhall place you.

With

With God, the King of Kings, I would have you begin; the beſt Government, you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to his Word and Spirit ſwaying in your heart.

Your Glory will be the advancement of God's Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and of the Churches good, and in the diſpenſation of Civil Juſtice and Honour for the publick good.

Piety will make you proſperous, or at leaſt not miſerable, whereby, in the loſs of all, you ſave a Soul, to which, as to a Creature, I ſee all theſe black Lines of Affliction drawn.

This Cup we taſt is God's Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs, in wants and pleaſure.

I would have you, above all, well grounded in your Religion, according to the beſt Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, which I wiſh may be judiciouſly your Religion, ſealed by your Judgment and Reaſon, perſevering in it as the neareſt to the Word of God for Doctrine, and the Primitive Examples for Government, with ſuch amendment as I elſewhere expreſſed, and often offered, but in vain. A fixation for Religion is neceſſary for your Souls and Kingdoms Peace. The

The Devil of Rebellion can turn himſelf into ſuch an Angel of Reformation, and the Old Serpent can pretend ſuch New Lights, that when ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop their mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion. When Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out Zeal; ſo that you muſt be ſettled, or you ſhall never want Temptations to deſtroy you and yours. Men are ſo good at putting the beſt of Princes for the worſt of Deſigns, eſpecially when Novelty prevails much, attended with Zeal for Religion; and 'tis a good way to hide their own Deformities, by ſevere cenſures upon other mens Opinions and Actions.

Abet no publick Faction againſt your own and the Churches ſettled judgment, leaſt the advantage you gain in ſome Mens Hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) be loſt in others, who think themſelves and their profeſſions, firſt diſpiſed and then Perſecuted by you.

Either calmly remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or order it ſo in point of power, that you

you need not fear, or flatter any, elſe you are undone, ſo quickly will the Serpent devour the Dove. There is leſs Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity in none than in Religious Rebels, whoſe Ambitious Policies march under the Colours of Piety, with ſecurity and applauſe. You may hear from them *Jacobs* Voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſaus* Hands.

The Presbyterian Faction in *England*, while compliant with publick order, was inconſiderable in Church and Srate: When diſcontents drove Men to ſideing, as ill humors fall to the diſaffected part, ſo did all that affected Novelty, adhere to that ſide as the moſt remarkable note of difference (then) in point of Religion; all leſſer Factions (until time and ſucceſs had diſcovered to them their ſeveral advantages) being officious Servants to Presbytery.

What may ſeem at firſt but an handbreadth in Religion, by Seditious Spirits, as by ſtrong Winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heavens, and therefore muſt be ſuppreſſed or reformed.

Next to your care for Religion take care for Juſtice, according to the ſettled

Laws

Laws of these Kingdoms, which by an admirable temperament give very much to the Subject, and yet reserve enough for any King, who owns his People as Subjects, and not as Slaves.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as may oppress the whole Body, that it cannot return any strength, honour or safety to the head.

Your Prerogative is best exercised in remitting, rather than exacting, the just Vigour of the Laws.

I hope you will never think it safe for a King to gratify any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick interest, and the good of the Community.

My Counsel and charge to you is, that (if it please God to restore you) you seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any Mans single fidelity, and distraction, (in managing affairs of Religion and Justice,) as to create in your self or others a diffidence of your own judgment which will prove more faithful to your own, and the Kingdoms, interest than any Mans.

Exasperate no Faction by the asperity of

of any Mans Paſſions, or humors (employed by you) about differences in leſſer matters, wherein a charitable toleration diſſipates that ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifieth; provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws and Governments, our Religion Eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them.

Always keep up ſolid Piety, and thoſe fundamental Truths which mend both the hearts and lives of men, with impartial Favour and Juſtice.

Take heed that outward Circumſtances of Religion devour not all the Encouragements of Learning, Induſtry and Piety, but with an equal Eye, and impartial Hand, diſtribute Favours and Rewards to all men, as you find for their real goodneſs, both in abilities and fidelity, worthy or capable of them. This will give you the hearts of the beſt and moſt too, who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer ways of Virtue at any time ſweetned with Temporal Rewards.

Time will diſſipate all Faction, when the rough Deſigns of ſome men ſhall diſcover themſelves, which were at

 firſt

firſt wrapt up under the ſmooth pretences of Religion, Reformation and Liberty. For, as the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps clothing. And, as for the ſecluded Train of the vulgar, who, in their ſimplicity, follow thoſe diſguiſes, my charge and counſel to you is, That, as you need no palliations for any Deſigns; ſo you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of Goodneſs, Piety and Virtue toward the People) even thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentation of Religion. So you ſhall neither fear any detection, as they do who have but the face and mask of goodneſs, nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectation of your People, who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects Novelty, as from the goodneſs of their King. And when Factions are by God's Mercy, and your Virtue, diſſipated, the abuſed vulgar will then learn, that none are greater Oppreſſors of their Eſtates, Liberties and Conſciences, than thoſe men that entitle themſelves, the Patrons and Vindicators of them, only

under

under that pretence, to uſurp Power over them. Let no paſſion therefore betray you to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſenſe and folly will ſufficiently puniſh in due time. But, as ſoon as the Forked Arrows of Factious Emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely Arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds, that the ſmart of the Cure may not equal the ſmart of the Heart.

Where-ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, offer Indemnity to ſo great a latitude as may include all that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, as to remove all Jealouſies, not out of ſtrict Policy or Neceſſity, but out of Chriſtian Charity and Choice. For, be confident, (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides that have done amiſs, have done ſo, not out of malice, but through a miſapprehenſion of things. And that therefore none will be more Loyal to you, than thoſe, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their Souls moſt vehement motives of Repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your Quality ſets you above any

Duel with a Subject, ſo the Nobleneſs of your Mind muſt raiſe you above the meditation of any Revenge upon the many that have offended you. The more conſcious you ſhall be to your own Merits upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and by inflicting no puniſhment for former miſcarriages, you will find more inward complacency in pardoning of one, than in puniſhing a thouſand. This I write to you, not deſpairing of God's mercy, and my Subjects affections towards you, both which I hope you will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own Mercy.

If God ſhould ſee fit to reſtore me, and you after me, to thoſe Enjoyments which the Laws ſhould have aſſigned to us, and no Subject without high degree of guilt can diveſt us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall ſee you in Peace, to let you freely underſtand the things that belong to God's Glory, your own Honour, and the Kingdom's Peace. But if you never ſee my face again, and God will have me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and Obſcurity, which

the perfecting ſome mens Deſigns require, where in few mens hearts, that love me, are permitted to exchange a word or look with me, I do require and intreat you, as your Father, and your King, that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſſatisfaction from, the true Religion eſtabliſht in the Church of *England*; which upon trial I find to be the beſt, as Chriſtian and Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pompous Superſtition of Tyranny, and the meaneſs of Phanatick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Diſcipline,) ſome Lines, as in very good Figures, do peradventure need ſome ſweetning and poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand, if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportion of the whole.

The Scandal of the late Troubles, which ſome may object and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſht in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts

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in this, that ſcarce any one who has been a beginner, or an active proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws and me, either was, or is, a true lover, embracer, or practicer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſht in *England*, which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before gave ſuch Examples.

It's true, ſome heretofore have had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction, but worſe Spirits, have now put in execution But let no counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate your value and eſteem of true Piety; both of them are to be known by their Fruits. The ſweetneſs of the Vine and Figg-tree, is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figgs and Grapes, thereby to promote their Rule over the Trees. Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right Conſtitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſs, but rather be as the interchanging of Love, Loyalty, and Confidence between the Prince and his People. The ſad Effects of the Inſolence

lence of popular Dictates, and tumultuary Impreſſions, in this Black Parliament, will make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honour which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies, (when they have once ſhaken off that Yoke of vulgar Encouragement,) ſince the Publick Intereſt conſiſts in the common good of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and honourable ways to contribute their counſels in common, enacting all things by publick conſent, without either Tyranny or Tumults. And we muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſom food.

If neither I, nor you, be ever reſtored to our Rights, but God in his ſevereſt Juſtice will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded by the proſperity of their wickedneſs, I hope God will give me and you that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth the taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable or irreligious terms. Do you always

keep firm to the true Principles of Piety, Virtue and Honour, and you ſhall never want a Kingdom.

It will be your honour to afford all reſpect, love and protection to your Mother, who hath many ways deſerved well of me, eſpecially in being a means to bleſs me with ſo many hopeful Children, and being content with incomparable magnanimity to ſuffer with me and them.

May you be an Anchor of hope to theſe weather-beaten Kingdoms,& your Wiſdom, Juſtice, Piety and Valour, a repairer of what the folly and wickedneſs of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire to the Crown, Nobility, Clergy or Commons,of Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or Lives. Let thoſe that love me find me (when I am gone) in your preſence and vertues. What good I intended, do you perform, when God ſhall put it into your power. I pray God bleſs you, and eſtabliſh your Kingdom in Righteouſneſs, your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the Love of God, and your People. Farewel till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

The

The good King, having thus reſigned himſelf, and all his Affairs, into the hand of God, patiently ſubmitted to his Croſs; and in a way of renunciation, as it were, and ſelf-diſpoſition of his Government, transferred and bequeathed the Scepter, together with his Advice and Direction, for his wielding of it. He applied himſelf wholly to the making preparation for his departing from an earthly to a heavenly Kingdom, being aſſiſted in his Piety and Devotion by Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*. And being upon the fatal 30th of *January* brought upon a Scaffold, erected before his own Palace of *Whitehall*, where he was barbarouſly murdered by his own Rebellious Subjects, he delivered himſelf in the following Speech.

Being not likely to be much heard, I could be ſilent, did not ſilence intimate a ſubmiſſion to the guilt as well as to the puniſhment charged upon me. But in my duty to my God and Country, to clear my ſelf an Honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian, I proteſt before God, to whom I muſt inſtantly give an account, that (as may appear from the date of their Commiſſions and mine) I begun not the War againſt the Parliament,

Parliament, nor intended I any incroachment upon their Priviledges, they began with me and the *Militia*, which they confeſt was mine, but thought it fit to have it from me, yet I charge not the guilt of theſe unhappy troubles upon the two Houſes, for I believe ill inſtruments betwixt us was the cauſe of all this Bloodſhed, however this Sentence is juſt *upon me*, for an unjuſt Sentence *permitted by me*. What Chriſtian I am this good Man, (pointing to Dr. *Juxon*) and others that have been inwardly familiar with me, and know me as well as my ſelf, may bear witneſs. I die in Communion with the Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, that hath been Eſtabliſht in the Church of *England*, in Queen *Eliz.* and my Fathers time of Bleſſed Memory, and in Charity with all the World, forgiving the worſt of mine Enemies, and praying God that this be not laid to their Charge.

As a good King I adviſe my Subjects, not to ground your ſelves in Conqueſts without a good cauſe, that you would give God, the King, and the People their dues. You may give God his due, by the advice of a national Synod, freely choſen and freely debating among themſelves. How you may give the King his due,

due, the Law will inſtruct you, and the People have their due, when they have that Government and thoſe Laws, whereby their Lives and Goods are moſt their own. I have delivered my Conſcience. I pray God you take thoſe courſes that may be for the Kingdoms and your own good.

Having finiſht this Speech and poured forth his Divine Soul to God in Prayer, it was ſent by death to him that gave it, where the great Aſſembly in Heaven joyfully welcomed that Martyred King, and made room for *Charles* of Great *Britain*.

The Life and Reign of *Charles* the firſt, being thus determined by this untimely and fatal ſtroak, his Eldeſt Son, who likewiſe bore his Name, immediately Succeeded him by the Title of *Charles* the Second; Who was the Lawful and undoubted Heir, not only of all his Dominions, but alſo of his admirable and Heavenly Vertues, being endowed with all thoſe Qualifications, which are requiſite to, or could poſſibly be deſired in a Prince, and under the influence of whoſe happy Reign, theſe Nations might have enjoyed as much happineſs and felicity as their Hearts would

wiſh,

wiſh, had not their own folly and madneſs for a time prevented it. For no ſooner had the Fatal Ax ſevered *England* and her Liberties, by cutting off the Head of her King, but the Parliament (as the *Junto* ſtill preſumed to call themſelves) the better to cruſh Monarchy, and maintain what they had now ſo far proſecuted, iſſued forth a Proclamation that none, under penalty of being deemed guilty of High Treaſon, ſhould preſume to Proclaim, declare, publiſh or any way promote the Prince of *Wales*, Son to the late King, or any other Perſon whatſoever to be King, or Chief Magiſtrate of *England*, or of any part of the Dominions, or any part thereof, by Colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion or Election, or any other claim or pretence whatſoever without the free conſent of the People in Parliament, and which Proclamation, altho not publiſht till the 2 of *February*, yet was in part Proclaimed on the very day of the Kings Murder.

And for the more enſuring and the better carrying on their Government with the more plauſibility, they publiſh an Act of State, for the alteration of Writs wherein inſtead of King, the Name

Name, Stile and Teſt, and *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ Authoritate Parliamenti*, ſhould be uſed and no other: All Writs being ordered to run ſo, and thoſe concerned in the Law required to take notice thereof, yet they provided that all Patents, granted by the late King, ſhould ſtill ſtand in full force and vertue.

And having caſt off the chief of thoſe three Eſtates, by which the Nation had been ſo long Governed, they think likewiſe of aboliſhing the ſecond, that ſo they might uſurp the whole power into their own hands, in order whereunto having firſt Voted that they would make no farther Addreſſes to them nor receive any from them, they made an Ordinance for aboliſhing the Houſe of Lords, as dangerous and uſeleſs. And then having aboliſhed the Ancient Governments of this Kingdom they proceeded to the conſideration of Eſtabliſhing another, but found it a work of ſo much intricacy that they could come to no reſolution, but only agreed in a Negative Voice that there ſhould, for the future, be no Government in *England*, either by King or Houſe of Lords: and thereupon ordered the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made,

made, which was delivered to the keeping of three Commissioners, *viz Keeble*, *Whitlock* and *Lisly*, and considered of new Oaths to be adminstred to the Judges, who thereupon met and upon debate six of them were contented to continue in their Employments, provided the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom were not altered. For whose satisfaction the *Juncto*, by their Declaration of the Ninth of *February*, did assure them that they were fully resolved to maintain, and would uphold, preserve and keep, the Fundamental Laws of this Nation, for and concerning the preservation of the Laws, Properties and Liberties of the People, with all things incident thereunto.

They proceeded likewise to appoint such Persons, as they thought would be most firm to their Interest, to exercise the Offices of Justices of the Peace throughout the Nation, and constituted a Council of State, consisting of about forty in number, whereof five might be Lords. And finally, to secure all, whereas they had before onely repealed, they now abolish and make void, the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

But, notwithstanding all their endeavours

vours to render themselves secure and firm in their Government, yet the People began now to be generally discontented: And those who had formerly affected them, growing sensible of the Inconveniencies that were like to ensue upon the cutting off of their Prince; beginning to abhor their practices, there was a general Plot carried on against them in all the Counties of *England*: Which obliged them to send Forces into most parts, to awe them, and thereby the better to keep them in order. Notwithstanding which Contrivances of theirs, to bar up the way to that Imperial Throne, which they had impudently invaded, and parted into shares amongst themselves, there were some who had Courage and Loyalty enough left them to assert the King's Right, and their own Duty, in a Printed Proclamation thrown about the Streets. And to convince the *Junto* at *Westminster*, that all men would not be wheedled to run a gadding after their Calves at *Bethel*, but that there were some still left, who would tread in the old Path, and beaten Tract of Government, in the succession of *Charles* the Second to the Crown of *England*, which

which Proclamation was as follows.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Miniſters, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, &c. *and other Freemen of* England, *do, according to our Allegiance and Covenant, by theſe preſents, heartily, joyfully and unanimouſly, acknowledge and proclaim the Illuſtrious* Charles *Prince of* Wales *next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King* Charles (*whoſe late wicked and traiterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Parties and Conſenters thereunto,*) *to be by hereditary Birthright, and lawful Succeſſion, Rightful and undoubted King of Great* Brittain, France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging. And that we will faithfully, conſtantly and ſincerely, in our ſeveral places and callings, defend and maintain His Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity, with our Eſtates, Lives, and laſt drop of our Blood, againſt all Oppoſers thereof; whom we do hereby declare to be Traitors, and Enemies to His Majeſty, and His Kingdoms. In teſtimony whereof we have ordered, and cauſed to be publiſhed,*

and

and proclaimed throughout all Countrys and Corporations of this Realm, the firſt day of February, *and the firſt year of His Majeſties Reign.* God ſave King *Charles* the Second.

Which Proclamation, although without any Solemnity, or indeed open Appearance, met with the ſame chearful Reception, and inward Loyal Reſolutions, as if Vent had been given to a publick manifeſtation of Duty and Joy by His Majeſties preſent aſcending the Throne: For it revived the hearts of his mourning and diſconſolate Subjects, to ſee the ſure and certain Succeſſion thereof aſſerted and continued in the ſame moſt beloved and darling Name, the Eldeſt Branch, and deſcended of their martyr'd Soveraign, in whoſe Ruins the Regicides thought to have rak'd up, and buried all Claims and Juſt Titles to the Imperial Diadem of theſe Kingdoms.

The ſaid Out-cries and lamentable Groans ſent forth by all Loyal Subjects, at the Loſs of their Head, together with the Martyrs Inſtructions and his *George*, (which were according to his Fathers deſire ſent him by the *Dutch*

Embaſſador,) found him at the *Hague* in *Holland*, where he then kept his Court, and was firſt ſaluted King; and the horrour thereof ſo ſeized his great Soul with wonder and aſtoniſhment, that it had certainly ſunk under the weight of it, had not the Religious Conſideration, that he ought not to ſorrow as one without hope, buoyed up his Spirit; and Reaſon forbid him to caſt away himſelf with grief, who was then become the only hope of three Kingdoms. Generous Rage prompting Princes to Revenge, rather than Deſpair, which was not to be accompliſht by weeping Eyes, but by wiſe Counſels, and valiant Performances.

Wherefore he bravely cheered up, and reaſſumed his wonted Courage, Comfort, State and Majeſty. And for the better managing of his Affairs, went ſoon after to *Paris*, to ſolicit that Court to embräce his Intereſt, and afford him ſome Aſſiſtance for the recovery of his Right, and the redreſſing his Subjects miſeries, by diſcountenancing the *Engliſh* Rebels, and furniſhing him with that competency of Money, Men, Arms and Ammunition, which might enable him not to Invade his Country, but to encourage his

own

own Subjects to reſcue themſelves from a forced Slavery. But the *French* King being under Age, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, who then governed the great Affairs of that Kingdom, being no Friend to this baniſht and diſtreſſed King, but holding a correſpondence with his rebellious Subjects, he was able to procure no Aſſiſtance from thence. Whereupon he next applied himſelf to *Spain*, whither he ſent the Lord *Cottington* as his Embaſſador, who upon his arrival there, was confronted by a Competitor, *viz. Aſcham*, who called himſelf an Embaſſador from the then New Majeſties of *England*, until he was diſpatcht by ſome *Switz*. After which *Cottington* was diſmiſt with this Anſwer; That were it any thing in the King of *Spain*'s own Dominion, which his Maſter of Great *Brittain* had deſired, it ſhould have been no ſooner requeſted than granted: But being a Forreign Quarrel, he could not intereſt himſelf therein, in regard it was not reaſonable he ſhould buſie himſelf in other mens matters, who had ſo many Irons in the fire himſelf.

But in the mean time, the Emperor, the Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, being acquainted

with the preſent circumſtance of his Affairs, by his ſeveral Embaſſadors ſent to each of them, they highly reſented his deplorable condition, and reſolved his ſpeedy aſſiſtance and ſupply. And *Holland*, upon his Account, and the Intereſt of his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, did upon terms agreed on between the late King and their Embaſſador, two days before his death, reſolve not to vail to this younger Siſters State, as they had been wont to do to the Kings of *England*; but by the Forlorn of ſome private acts of Hoſtility begin that difference, which ſoon after brake out into an open War. Nor was he altogether void of Aſſiſtance from *England*, being underhand ſupplied with ſome Moneys by his Loyal Friends from thence.

But *Scotland* was more entirely at his Devotion, who having ſhewed their ſad Reſentment of his Fathers Death, by obſerving a Publick Faſt on that occaſion, on the 19th of *February*, and chearfully promoted his Succeſſion, by the Eſtates of Parliament there aſſembled, a Proclamation was iſſued out for the ſolemn proclaiming and declaring him to be their lawful King and Governour, which was as follows.

His

His late Majeſty being, contrary to the conſent and proteſtation of this Kingdom, removed by violent Death, we the Eſtates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, *do unanimouſly, in Recognition of his Juſt Rights, proclaim his Eldeſt Son Prince* Charles, *by the Providence of God, and undoubted Succeſſion, King of Great* Britain, France *and* Ireland, *whom we are bound by the National and Solemn League and Covenant to obey, maintain and defend with our Lives and Goods, againſt all his Enemies. But before he be admitted to the exerciſe of his Royal Power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to theſe Kingdoms touching the Security of Religion, the Unity of the two Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant.* God ſave the King.

Which Proclamation was for the better aſſuring the truth of their deſigned Allegiance to the Crown, made in a moſt ſolemn manner at *Edinburgh* Croſs, which was hung with Tapeſtry, all the Parliament-Lords attending there in their Robes, and the Chancellor himſelf reading the ſaid Proclamation, and

reciting the Murder of his late Majesty to the King at Arms ; the night being concluded with all usual demonstrations of Joy and Gladness. Which being over, they sent an Expostulatory Letter to those at *Westminster*, to give them an Account of their proceedings, and require their concurrence therewith. In answer whereunto they received Letters stuft with flattery, and protestations of Amity and Friendship, if they would desist from acting any farther therein, and acquiesce and concur with their proceedings in *England*. But they, knowing that their Countrys Honour had been lost by the same Traiterous proffers, refused to hearken to their overtures, protesting in their messages directed to *Lenthal*, the Speaker, that they would not enter into any Treaty with them, nor own them, unless they were a free Parliament consisting of both houses without any force upon or seclusion of their members.

Wherefore having hereby made the *English* Parliament implacably their Enemies, they endeavor to assure his Majesty to be their Friend, ordring *Joseph Douglas* to repair forthwith to him at the *Hague*, and acquaint him with what

what they had done, and were preparing to do. And presently after, sent several Commissioners to treat with him, about his repairing to them, and entring upon the exercise of his Kingly Office: Whereupon their Commissioners at *London*, having sent a peremptory Paper to the *Juncto*, withdrew themselves privately from *London*, intending to pass by Sea, for *Scotland*, but were intercepted at *Graves-end*, and by a Guard conveyed thither by Land; an Envoy going likewise with them to the *Scottish* Parliament, to know if they would justifie the aforesaid Paper; who beginning now to be more than ever enraged against the *Rump*, dismist him without any Answer, but prepared themselves for defence, intending to levy 17000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, against the return of their Commissioners, who landing about the middle of the Summer, though they did not bring with them a confirmation of the Agreement, yet gave certain hopes of it by a Treaty, presently to be commenced, the King offering to perform whatsoever his Father had promised for the settlement of Presbytery.

Upon which Encouragement the Lord *Liberton* was presently dispatcht

to wait upon the King, who was then preparing for his return from the *Hague*, through *Flanders*, into *France*, which he did on *June* 15 in company with his Sister, and her Husband, the Prince of *Orange* in their Coach, and came early to *Rotterdam*, where he was received by the *Burghers* in their Arms and saluted in his passing the Gates with the Artillery, Ringing of Bells and all other signs of Joy and Honour, and Noblely treated by them. From whence he went to *Dort*, where he was received in the same manner, and then to *Breda*, and then to *Antwerp*, where, by order of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, he was met and entertained, with all possible state and splendor, being presented likewise with a rich Chariot, with eight Horses, suitable thereunto, and particularly welcomed by his former Tutor, the Marquess of *Newcastle* (who had then fixt his Residence there, out of respect to the great Civility which he received from that People, who had made him Excise-free, and given him several other Immunities and Priviledges.) And from thence conducted to *Brussels*, where he was as royally entertained, & with as much grandeur, as if he had been the King of *Spain* him-

himſelf. And the King did afterward acknowledge that Entertainment for the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent, and to have in it the moſt pleaſing variety of any that he ever met withal, during the whole time of his Exile. Which Amplitudes were obſerved throughout his whole paſſage: For at his departure thence, the Duke of *Lorrayn* gave him the like Entertainment, and conducted him on his way toward *France*, where in *Compaign*, the *French* King, accompanied with the moſt and choiceſt of his Nobility, did receive and welcom him with all the Teſtimonies of Affection and Honour that became ſuch a Prince, and afterward conveyed him in State to St. *Germains*, where the Queen his Mother then reſided.

So that although he was baniſht from his Throne, yet he wanted not a Kingdom a ll men whereever he came, being ſo taken with his Virtues, that they ſeemed willing to become his Subjects. Nor was his Court much inferiour in numbers and ſplendor, to thoſe of other Princes, who were in the actual poſſeſſion of their Crowns. Toward the maintenance whereof, his Aunt the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* aſſigned him fifty thouſand

thouſand Crowns *per Annum*; ſeveral others contributing likewiſe thereunto, according to their abilities.

He was very much ſolicited about this time by the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, to repair to that Kingdom; but finding that the Conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him, were ſuch as he could not in honour accept of, eſpecially the parting with *Montroſs*, he reſolved to ſteer another courſe, and therefore grants a Commiſſion to *Montroſs* to Levy what Forces he could beyond the Sea, and with them go and joyn the Lord *Seworth*, Major *Straughan*, and others, who had got to Head for the King without the Kirk, in the North of *Scotland*. But they being routed before he came by *Liſley*, and himſelf, not long after his Arrival, defeated by a Party of the Kirks Forces, and taken Priſoner, & moſt ignominiouſly hanged at *Edinburgh*; he was, as it were, forced by the neceſſity of his Affairs, to comply with their demands, which was ſo much the eaſier done, in regard, that, about that time *Montroſs* was removed by an unfortunate death. Wherefore he ſent Sir *Will. Fleming* beforehand to complement the States; he returned them his Anlowing

ſwer in the following Letter, which he ſent back by *Liberton.*

We have received your Letter by Mr. Windram *of* Liberton, *and graciouſly accept your good affections towards us, your Reſentment of our Condition, and our Fathers Murder. And out of a gracious deſire of a good underſtanding between us and our Subjects of* Scotland, *for their Peace, Happineſs and Comfort, we command and deſire you to ſend us Commiſſioners, ſufficiently Authorized, to treat and agree with us, about thoſe things which concern the Intereſt of our Subjects of* Scotland, *and our Intereſt in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *at* Breda, *on the 5th of* March. *That all the World may know how ſincerely we deſire Agreement, we have addreſſed theſe to you, under the Name and Title of Committeee of Eſtates of our Kingdom of* Scotland, *and do expect you uſe this Grace no otherwiſe for the prejudice of us and our Affairs, than for the Treaty; and in order to it, Given at our Court in* Jerſey, Jan. 6. 1649. Charles Rex. Another Letter to the ſame purpoſe, being likewiſe directed by him to the Committee of the Kirk.

The *Scots* gladly received thoſe Letters, and preſently made choice of Commiſſioners to repair to *Holland*, ſufficiently

ently inſtructed for the concluding of a Treaty with the King, who arrived at *Breda* on the 16th of *March*, and were on the 19th conducted by the L. *Wentworth*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, to their Audience, when they delivered to His Majeſty the following Propoſitions. 1. That the Excommunicated ſhould be forbid the Covenant. 2. That all the Acts of Parliament be ratified, the Covenant taken, the Presbyterian Government eſtabliſht and practiſed in His Majeſties Family, and elſewhere; and that he himſelf ſwear to it. 3. That all Civll matters might be determined by ſubſequent Parliaments, and all Eccleſiaſtical matters by the general Kirk aſſembled. Which Propoſitions of theirs being delivered, he diſtinguiſht the Civil part of their Propoſals, from thoſe that concerned Eccleſiaſtical matters, and told them, that as to what concerned Civil Affairs, he would confirm all the Acts and Ordinances of the laſt Seſſion of their Parliament: And that all Affairs concerning that Kingdom ſhould be tranſacted in a Parliamentary way, as they had been in his Royal Father and Grandfathers time. And that, as long as any perſon did ſtand excommunicated, he ſhould be uncapable of any Office

fice or place of truſt in that Nation. And, as to what concerned the Eccleſiaſtical matters, he told them, That the Covenant ſeemed more proper for Subjects, than for a King, in regard Allegiance unto Soveraignty was a conſiderable part of it. And that as to thoſe parts of it, wherein he thought himſelf concerned, he would, upon the word of a Prince, with the limitation allowed in the Covenant, *viz.* as far as he did, or might in his Conſcience, according to the Word of God, endeavour in his place the Reformation in Religion and Worſhip, in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Aſſuring them moreover, that he would allow the *Scottiſh* Nation a Liberty as large as he enjoyed himſelf; And that in caſe the generality of the *Scottiſh* Nation aſſembled in Parliament, would propoſe unto him the Presbyterian Government as the way wherein that Nation would walk in fellowſhip with God, he would confirm and eſtabliſh it by his Royal Authority. And finally, That in order to his making good thoſe particulars, he would, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to his Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, deſiring to be excuſed, if his Fathers, and his own ancient and faithful Friends, who had conſtantly

attended

attended on him in all his ſufferings, ſhould come along with him thither, ſince he could not, in point of gratitude, diſcharge thoſe from the Advantages of Loyalty, whoſe faithfulneſs to him was ſo great, that no hazards whatſoever, could diſcharge them from the Services, Employments and Dangers of it; telling them, he ſhould be a King in vain, if Allegiance in his Court were eſteemed a fault that deſerved caſhiering.

Theſe Propoſals and Anſwers were rationally debated by Commiſſioners on both ſides, the *Scots* ſtanding very ſtifly to their Principles, and the Kings Commiſſioners reſolved not to yield to all their demands, whereupon by an influence which the *Engliſh* had upon ſome of the Commsſſioners (for they had their Active Agents both their and in *Scotland*, ſtreneouſly endeavouring to countermine the honeſt endeavours of all ſides for pacification) the treaty was like to break off as unhappily as by them it was thought to be begun, but by the mediation of the States General, the Queen of *Bohemia* and the Prince of *Orange*, it was reaſſumed, and brought to a Concluſion, upon the Covenant Terms on the Kings part, with the forementi-

oned

oned limitation, it was the Religious part of the Treaty which kept them at the greateſt diſtance, and was the moſt difficult to be agreed upon, controverſies of that nature being ever the moſt irreconcileable, the civil part ever quickly diſpatcht in regard he was of ſuch a condeſcending temper that conld contentedly quit much of his intereſt for the Peace, and welfare of his People, but was unwilling to quit any of his conſcience, which he knew to be a far more weighty and ſacred matter.

On the *Scots* ſide it was agreed that his Majeſty ſhould be admitted to the Throne of *Scotland*, and his juſt Rights in that Kingdoms recovered by Parliament, from the hands of thoſe who had uſurpt them, and that they ſhould aſſiſt his Majeſty in bringing the Murderers of his Royal Father, to condign puniſhment, reſtore him to the Kingdom of *England*, and the vindicating his Right thereunto againſt the preſent Uſurpers, *&c.*

The Treaty being thus finiſht, the Commiſſioners both of the Kirk and the State were ſplendidly ttreated by the Prince of *Orange*, and highly honoured by his Majeſty, after which they returned

turned into *Scotland*, exceedingly ſatisfied in their ſucceſs and entertainment.

Nor were the *Scots* alone in their Endeavours at this time, to reſtore His Majeſty to his loſt Dominions: For many of the Presbyterians in *England*, did likewiſe, by their Agents at *Paris*, engage all their Intereſt for the promotion thereof. But *Cromwel's* Emiſſaries being ſo thick, that three could ſcarcely meet together, but one of them would, in the end, prove his Spie, they were betrayed, and their Deſigns came to nothing. Many eminent perſons, eſpecially of their Miniſters, being taken and brought to Tryal, as *Caſe*, *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Love*, and others; ſome whereof were executed, (upon the importunity of *Cromwel*, who proteſted to the *Juncto*, that if they did not Juſtice in *England*, he would not fight in *Scotland*,) viz. *Love* and *Gibbons*.

The *Juncto* were very much allarumed when they underſtood, that notwithſtanding all their Endeavours to the contrary, the Treaty at *Breda* is concluded. And that among other things, the *Scots* had engaged to aſſiſt His Majeſty to bring them, and the Rebels of their Conſpiracy, to condign pnniſhment, and

to

o recover thoſe Rights, which none but ſuch Monſters as themſelves would unjuſtly detain from ſo great, and ſo good a Prince. Wherefore being deeply ſenſible of their danger, they prepare for War, but whether it ſhould be Offenſive or Defenſive, was yet a queſtion among them. But at laſt conſidering that, if there muſt be a War, it had ever been a Maxim among the greateſt Politicians, that it was moſt prudent to make the Enemies Country the Seat of it. They reſolved upon an Offenſive War, hoping that *Scotland* would quickly be weary of maintaining two Armies, ſince it had ſo much ado to keep one. And that ſince they were informed their Levies went on ſlowly, they thought that their Forces, which were already on Foot, might eaſily go and ſurprize them, before they lookt for them, or were half ready to entertain them.

In order whereunto, *Cromwel* being called out of *Ireland*, was in great ſtate made Captain General of all their Forces, raiſed, or to be raiſed in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The Lord *Fairfax*, who had in him ſome ſparks of Loyalty, waving at once that Employ-

ment, and his own Commiſſion; not as ſome imagine, to avoid the hazard of that Expedition; for he was one that never turned his back upon danger, but becauſe he was unwilling any longer to be ſubſervient to thoſe baſe and vile Deſigns, which he now began to abhor.

Whilſt theſe preparations were making in *England*, the King removed from the *Hague* to *Diep* in *Normandy*, and from thence to *Scheveling*; from whence, after a dangerous Storm, and narrow eſcape of ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels, which lay in wait for him, he arrived ſafe at the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*, which the Parliament being informed of, they ſent ſome Lords to receive and attend him from thence to *Edinburgh*, where he is received by the Parliament and Committee of Eſtates and Kirk, with infinite expreſſions of Fidelity and Affection; the common people like ſo many Echoes to their Superiors; and the whole City ſounding nothing but *Vive le Roy*. But *Cromwel*, being advanced with his Army into *Scotland*, and having been ſucceſsful in ſome ſmaller Encounters, and given them a total overthrow

at

at *Dunbar*, they found themſelves in a ſad and perplexed condition, having not only the Enemy raging in the bowels of that Kingdom; but being extreamly divided alſo amongſt themſelves; wherefore they now thought it high time to unite among themſelves. In order whereunto a general meeting was appointed at St. *Johnſtons*, which ſhould conſiſt of King, Lords and Commons, and the Aſſembly of the Miniſters, in which Aſſembly ſeveral Lords formerly in favour with the Kirk, were admitted to Commands in the Army, and a Liberty to ſit in Parliament, as *Hamilton*, *Lauderdale*, and others. And Major General *Maſſey*, formerly Governour of *Gloceſter* for the Parliament, but afterward reconciled to the King, was admitted to a Command in the Army. And as the perfection of all the Kings Coronation was there reſolved upon, ſo that now their wounds began to heal, and their breaches to be made up again; and it was generally hoped, that theſe Clouds of Diviſion being blown over, a ſerene Sky would immediately follow, and the Sun of Proſperity ſhine on their future proceedings.

The Parliament of *Scotland*, in pursuance of those resolutions at St. *Johnstons*, having dissolved themselves in order to the Kings Coronation, it was performed on the first of *January* at *Schone* in as Solemn and Splendid manner, as the exigency of the time could bear; his Majesty with a great Train of his Nobles and others went first to the Kirk, where a Sermon was Preacht by a Scotch Minister whose name was *Duglass*, upon those words, *then they brought out the Kings Son, and put upon him the Crown, and gave him the Testimony, and made him King, and* Jehojadah *and his Son Anointed him, saying*, God save the King. 2 Chron. 23, 11. Joined to these words, *and* Jehojadah *made a Covenant between all the People, and between the King, that they should be the Lords People, v.* 16. Which Sermon being ended he was conducted from his Chair of State, which was placed in the Kirk, to that erected for his Coronation, by the Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marshal, where being placed he was Proclaimed King by Herald King at Arms; and then clad with a Robe of State by the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Steward. After which sitting he consented to the National

nal Covenant, the Solemn League, Covenant, Directory, and the Catechiſms, and promiſed upon his Royal word to perform them (ſo far as he underſtood them to be agreeable to the Word of God,) in his own Family in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and in all his other Dominions, as ſoon as it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him thereunto: Which being done, the Coronation Oath was next read, which was Enacted in the firſt Parliament of King *James*, and is as follows.

'That His Majeſty ſhall maintain 'that Religion, Diſcipline and Worſhip, 'that is moſt agreeable to the Word of 'God, to the beſt Patrons of Reforma-'tion, and is againſt all Hereſy, Schiſm, 'Idolatry, Superſtition and Prophane-'neſs, that he ſhould govern the King-'dom by Law and Equity, and that he 'ſhould maintain the juſt Rights of the 'Crown, and Priviledges of the People.

After the reading of which Oath he declared with an audible Voice, that he did promiſe, in the name of the great God who Lives for ever, that he would to the uttermoſt of his Power,

endeavour to do the things contained in that Oath. Which done, Herald King at Arms went to the four corners of the Stage, and demanded of the People four times, whether they were willing that *Charles* the Second, Son and Heir of *Charles* the First, ſhould be King over them, to which the People anſwered, *Long live King Charles*, *God Save the King*. Then the Marqueſs of *Argile* Preſented him with the Royal Scepter, the Earl of *Eglington* put on the Spurs, the Lord High Conſtable ſet the Crown upon his Head, and the Earl Marſhal having unſheathed the Sword, put it into his hand to defend the Faith withal, which having held a while, he delivered it to the Earl of *Glencarn* to be carried before him.

Then the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of the Kingdom, did as in the preſence of the Great God that Lives for ever ſwear Allegiance, Fealty and Obedience, to him as to their Liege and Soveraign Lord; and the whole Ceremony was concluded, by an Exhortation of the Miniſter to his Majeſty, to the Nobility, to the Clergy, and to the Commons, the ſum and ſubſtance whereof, was in reference to the Co-

venant

venant, which they then lookt upon as the Center from which every Line, both of Soveraignty, and the Subjects Duty, was to be drawn in their reſpective Circumſtances. And for a power to perform what he then exhorted them to, the aſſiſtance of God is invoked by prayer; who being *Alpha* and *Omega*, they made him the firſt with whom they began, and the laſt with whom they finiſhed. So ſoon as the Crown was ſet upon his Head, he made a ſhort, but pithy Speech to the People, telling them, that he did eſteem the Affections of his good People, more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and ſhould be ready, by God's Aſſiſtance, to beſtow his Life for their defence, wiſhing to live no longer than he ſaw Religion and that Kingdom to flouriſh in all Happineſs; with many other expreſſions of like Love and Affection toward them.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation being ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, he ſate down at one Table, and the Lords at another, many Careſſes and Teſtimonies of Joy reciprocally paſſing between them. And Dinner being ended, they all returned

to St. *Johnſtons*, in the ſame Order and Pomp as they came from thence to *Schone* Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and the loud Acclamations of the People, were ſufficient demonſtrations of the Publick Joy which the *Scots* were filled withall; and the great expectations they had of Happineſs and Felicity under the Influence of his mild and eaſie Government.

Having now obtained the actual poſſeſſion of one of his Kingdoms; and being reconciled to that Parliament, he was not in the leaſt daunted by the late Miſcarriages, but as if he had been encouraged by his former Unhappineſs, and raiſed in mind like *Anteus* by his Fall, he proceeded to the raiſing of ſuch an Army, as might then have been rather wiſht for by the Affectionate, than expected by the Reaſonable. And indeed ſuch was the Confluence of Faithful Subjects, that continually reſorted to him, and were reſolved to carry on, and, if poſſible, maintain an endangered, and an endangering Cauſe againſt the moſt ſucceſsful, and hitherto prevailing Intereſt, that he was in a little time Maſter of

of a greater Army in the Field, than either his own hope, or his Enemies guilty fear, could ſuſpect. Wherefore he bravely appears himſelf in the management of his own Affairs, as *Generaliſsimo* of that Army, which conſiſted of two and twenty thouſand fighting Men.

Nor was his care leſs employed about his Garriſons, than it was about thoſe Forces he had in the Field, knowing that it was prudence to provide for a Retreat, though he expected a Conqueſt, and not neglect the providing a Refuge in the worſt of Dangers; whilſt, according to Reaſon, he need to think of nothing but Safety in the beſt of Victories. Wherefore to haſten the work, for every minute of delay was then fatal, and cheriſh the dejected Vulgar, (who were now ſomewhat diſcouraged by lying under the burden of a double Army,) with the honour and pleaſure of his gracious preſence: He took a progreſs to view the moſt conſiderable of them, and ſee them well fortified and furniſht with all neceſſary

neceſſary Proviſions, encouraging the Engineers by his Bounty, and directing and guiding them by his Skill.

But thoſe vaſt Preparations were too formidable to his Enemies for them to ſuffer 'em to go on without an Attempt, at leaſt, to hinder and defeat them. Wherefore, before the Levies were well compleated, *Cromwel* makes hard toward him, thinking each minute tedious that paſt without ſome Action. But the King prudently declined joyning Battel with him, until he might, if poſſible, draw him, (who had a greedy deſire of Fighting,) into ſome diſadvantage, which he was in a probability of doing ſoon after. For *Cromwel*, having commanded two Regiments to paſs over into a narrrow Iſland, hoping thereby to intercept his paſſage, he ſent againſt them five or ſix Regiments, under the Command of Major General *Brown*, who had certainly cut them all in pieces, had not *Cromwel* haſtened thither with a ſupply in the very laſt minute of opportunity, whereby he reſcued his own Forces,

and

and beat back *Brown*, although not without a conſiderable loſs on both ſides. And, being fluſht with thoſe ſucceſsful beginnings, purſued his Advantage; and tranſporting his Army over *Fife*, marcht immediately unto St. *Johnſtons*, which he took almoſt upon the firſt Summons.

Whereupon the King, who was not able to beat them back, thought it high time to look about him. And, ſince *Cromwel*, that ſucceſsful Rebel, had now gained all on the other ſide *Fife*, took the Earl of *Eglington* Priſoner, poſſeſt himſelf of St. *Johnſtons*, and grew every day more powerful, he reſolved, with all imaginable ſpeed, to advance into *England*, expecting that the Juſtice and Equity of his Cauſe, together with the long Tyranny exerciſed over them by the *Junto*, would incite his *Engliſh* Subjects to return to their Allegiance, and joyn with him againſt theirs, as well as his Enemies. And knowing by experience, that the *Scots* always expreſt their Valour better in other Countries, than at home, in their own; whereupon

upon *Cromwel* re-croſſes *Frith*, and ſends *Lambert* with a ſelect Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to fall upon the King's Reer, himſelf following preſently after with the Body of his Army. The King entred *England* by the way of *Carliſle*; the Royal Army marching through the Country with that Civility, and exact Obedience to Military Diſcipline, that, as ſome affirm, the Country was not damaged ſix-pence by them. But whether it were, that their former Villanies had left ſuch a deep impreſſion in the hearts of the People; or that they were now dull'd and beſotted with Slavery, and with *Iſſachar*'s Aſs, were content to couch under their Burdens, or that they were over-awed by an Armed Power, which is the moſt probable, few or none came in to his Aſſiſtance, ſave only the Lord *Howard*'s Son of *Eſcrick*, with one Troop of Horſe, notwithſtanding his earneſt Invitation.

The *Junto* at *Weſtminſter* hearing of the King's March, were exceedingly terrified therewith, and preſently raiſed all the Countries againſt him,

him, and declared it High Treaſon for any to aſſiſt him either with Men, or Money.

But the Earl of *Darby*, who was always Loyal both to him and his Father, not fearing their Bug-Bear Threatning, brought him a ſupply of Two hundred and fifty Foot, and Sixty Horſe, out of the *Iſle of Man*. He met with no oppoſition till he came at *Warrington* in *Lancaſhire*, where ſome conſiderable Forces of the Parliament were ready to cut down that Bridge, and diſpute his Paſſage: But the *Scots* falling on them, before they were aware, prevented the breaking down of the Bridge, and by their Valour, forced their way over the Planks, and put the Adverſary to ſuch a confuſed Retreat, that had it been purſued, as himſelf would have had it, but was oppoſed by *Leſly*, it might have proved the Conqueſt of all *England*; and that unhappy and miſerable War might thereby have been ended much ſooner than it was.

From

From thence he marched toward *Worceſter*, in ſuch excellent Order, and with ſo little Damage to the Country, that it lookt more like a Progreſs with his Nobles, than a March with an Army; which was a great demonſtration of the powerful Influence of his goodneſs and care, which could ſo eaſily frame Rudeneſs it ſelf to ſo ſmooth and even a temper, and form an unruly Camp into a well managed and orderly Court.

In his way to *Worceſter* he ſummoned *Shrewsbury*, by a Letter directed to Collonel *Mackworth*, Governour thereof, which was wholly compoſed of bowels, compaſſion and clemency, ſignifying to him, that being ſenſible of the injury done; and now, for a long time, continued to him in the unjuſt Uſurpation of his Rights, and to his People, in the frequent and horrid breaches of their Priviledges, he was willing to do himſelf and them ſo much Right, as to endeavour the Recovery of his and their Rights, which he, both by his peculiar Inclination,

and

and his Intereſt, was more willing to do by Peace and Reaſon, than by War and Force, and therefore willed and required him to deliver up his Charge, and thereby prevent all Violence, which he conjured him to do as he was a Subject, a Chriſtian, and a Gentleman. To which the Governour in a Reply, directed by him to the Commander in Chief of the *Scottiſh* Forces then in *England*, anſwered, That he could not, as a Chriſtian, Gentleman, or Subject, betray the Truſt his Superiors had put him in, ſo far as to deliver that place to any perſon without their conſent.

Being come to *Worceſter*, he made a a halt, and marcht his Army into that City, which was certainly a very great overſight, and proceeded from his ſuffering himſelf to be unhappily prevailed upon (as his Father had too often been,) by the light Reaſons of others, more than by thoſe that were far more weighty of his own. For if he had marcht directly to *London*, he had certainly been ſucceſsful, and would have ſurprized that great City, before they had been in a condition to have defended them-

themſelves. On which, the whole Kingdom would conſequently have ſubmitted to him. So that thoſe, who adviſed him to ſtay at *Worceſter*, ſeem to have accounted a few days March too great a purchaſe for three Kingdoms.

The Earl of *Darby*, who was left in *Lancaſhire*, to raiſe more Men in that, and the adjacent Countries, being encountred by *Lilburn*, with his own, and the General's Regiment, was overthrown and routed: So that he narrowly eſcaped with ſome few only to the King at *Worceſter*, who was now as cloſely coopt up in that City, by a company of fortunate Rebels, as the King of *France* was at *Agincourt*, by our brave King *Henry*; the whole Nation being about him, rather to ſwallow him up by their multitudes, than conquer him by their Valour. To whom *Cromwel* at laſt comes, as a *Genius* to quicken them to action, who had hitherto done nothing but look on, and ſpirit their grave and ſlow approach into a fierce Aſſault, and fatal Storm. The King, however, reſolved to defend the City as long as poſſible againſt his powerful Attaques.

The

The first whereof was the disputing of a Postage over the *Severne*, called *Upton-Bridge*, by *Lambert*, which had been utterly impossible for him to have gained, had not either Negligence or Treachery, in those appointed by the King, to break it down, left one Plank behind, which reach'd from Arch, to Arch, a small Party of Horse and Foot, sent by him, under the Command of *Fleetwood*, to judge of the feasibleness of the Attempt, finding a Plank left upon the Bridge, immediately dismounted, and ventured over, securing themselves in a Church, on the other side; which *Mosley* (who lay in *Upton*, with about Two Hundred Horse, and Sixty Dragoons, in abundance of Security, and without the least dread of an enemy) alarumed with assaults, whilst in the mean time *Lambert* pass'd over a considerable Party of Horse to their relief; upon which *Mosley* finding it was then in vain to fight, made an honourable Retreat toward *Worcester*, himself still bringing up the Rear, in which Service he was wounded by a shot in the head.

The Bridge being thus gain'd, was immediately repaired, and *Lamberts* Army past all over, whilst *Cromwell*

upon a Bridge of Boats, which he cauſed to be made over the *Severne*, on the other ſide, march'd over with the Army under his Command, whereby the City of *Worceſter* was very much ſtrait'ned. There happened, for a day or two after this, ſeveral ſmall Engagements with very doubtful ſucceſs, until Victory hovering, as it were, between the equal rivals, doubtful which head to Crown with Conqueſt, until *Cromwell*, rowſing up his accuſtomed Spirit of diſpatch, appeared at *Red-Hill*, and reſolved to attack the City on all ſides, commanded *Fleetwood* to make the Attack on one ſide, whilſt he himſelf undertook to manage it on the other: Which the King perceiving, from the top of the Church Steeple, where he then held a Council of War, the better to diſcern the Poſture of the Enemy; ordered ſome to draw out from St. *John*'s, to oppoſe *Fleetwood*, others being ſent in the mean time to line the hedges in *Cromwell*'s way, who play'd their part ſo bravely, that *Cromwell*'s Red-coats were at firſt glad to retire, until reinforc'd with freſh Soldiers. But then they were forc'd to retire, Whereupon the King himſelf march'd with

with incredible Reſolution out of *Sudbury* Gate, with a good Train of horſe and foot to oppoſe *Cromwell*, whoſe invincible Life-guard, which was therefore called Iron-ſides, becauſe it was cuſtomary to them to conquer, were very much diſordered, the King performing ſuch wonders as were almoſt above belief; exerciſing the part both of a couragious General and a valiant Soldier, having his horſe twice ſhot under him, and rallying the diſorderly Infantry, in his own Perſon, till they were utterly loſt by the negligence of *Leſley*, who ſordidly ſuffered a brave body of Horſe to ſtand ſtill, and look on the ruin of their King and Country-men, unrevenged, and as it were, patiently wait for their own.

The Field being now loſt, he was forced to Retreat into the City, with the loſs of Duke *Hamilton*, Sir *John Douglaſs*, and ſeveral other perſons of note; being obſerved that he, like *Cæſar*, did that day never bid his Soldiers *go*, but *come*, and that as he went firſt into Field, ſo he returned the laſt from it; being not without ſome difficulty, perſuaded to retire, whereby it appeared

he was not Conquered, but Over-powered.

In vain did he ride among the dejected Soldiers, with his hat in his hand, intreating them to ſtand to their Arms, and telling them, when he could not prevail, that he had rather they would Shoot him, than keep him alive to ſee the ſad effects of that fatal day; for the Conquerors purſued the diſorderly *Scots* to the Town, with ſuch fury, that they even tired themſelves with Slaughter and Execution, and became weary of Conquering, fighting now, not ſo much againſt any other, as againſt the King himſelf, who was now become the only care both of his Friends and Enemies: the one crying, *Save the King*, for whom they were more concerned than for themſelves, and the other crying out with as much earneſtneſs, *Where is the King?* as if he had been the only prize they fought for.

About ſix in the Evening, ſeeing all irrecoverably loſt, he March'd out at St. *Martin*'s Gate, leaving all things behind as a Prey to the Enemy; and indeed they were well loſt, ſince by their loſs he redeemed himſelf: for he was no ſooner got out on one ſide, but the Enemy

Enemy preſt in on the other to look for him, and had certainly purſued and overtaken him, had they not been ſtop'd by the Royal ſpoil which was left behind, to the ſame purpoſe that *Hippodame* left behind her the Golden Apples to tempt the Purſuer to ſtay the gathering them up, and thereby ſave herſelf. And the Valour of ſome that ſtill kept the Royal Fort, to reduce whom, *Cromwell* commanded out ſome *Cheſhire* Forces, who moſt of them periſhed in the attempt, that County having never before loſt ſo many lives in ſuch an unworthy Service; but having at laſt made himſelf Maſter of it, the Defendants were all put to the Sword: whereupon the remainder of the Soldiery craved Quarter, and had it readily granted them, the Rebels being as weary of killing as the Royaliſts were of being killed.

From this unfortunate Battel not above 300 Horſe, and ſcarce any of the Infantry, eſcaped, who were moſt of them either ſlain or taken, near 100 Priſoners of Quality; of which, the chief were Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cleveland*, *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Carnwath*, *Killy*, and

many more: the number of the Priſoners in the whole, being ſaid to be 10000, together with whom, was taken the King's Standard, Coach and Horſes, Collar of SS's and Star-Cloth. Major General *Maſſey*, who eſcaped the Battel, not knowing where to ſhelter himſelf, being grievouſly wounded, was forced to ſurrender himſelf a Priſoner likewiſe to the Counteſs of *Stamford*, being ſecured by the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, her Son, by whom he was, after the recovery of his Wounds, ſent up to *London*, from whence, not long after, he made his eſcape. The news of this Victory extreamly rejoyced the Juncto, but the joy for their Victory was ſomewhat allayed by the King's eſcape.

Before he was got as far as *Barbone*'s Bridg, which was not above half a Mile from *Worceſter*, he made ſeveral ſtands, facing about. and deſiring the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and other of his Commanders, that they might rally with thoſe few Forces that were yet left him, and once more try the fortune of War. But being come to the Bridg, a ſerious Conſultation was held about it; when perceiving many of the Troopers throwing off their Arms,

Arms, and ſhifting for themſelves, their opinion was, that the day was ſo irrecoverably loſt, that his only buſineſs now, was to endeavour the ſaving of himſelf from thoſe ravenous Wolves and Regicides; whereupon he reſolved, by the advice of his Council, to March back again for *Scotland*: and in order thereunto, the Duke of *Buckingham* demanded of the Lord *Talbot*, who was of that Country, if he could not Conduct them in their way *Northward*, who thereupon anſwered, that he had in his Troop one *Walker*, formerly a Scout-Maſter in thoſe Parts, that knew the way very well; who being accordingly called to be their Guide, he performed that duty well enough for ſome Miles: but coming to *Kinver* Heath, not far from *Kiderminſter*, he was at a loſs, and knew not which way to go. Whereupon the King made a ſtand, and conſulted with the Lords, whither he might with moſt ſafety March to take ſome hours reſt, being almoſt quite worn out and ſpent: The Earl of *Darby* told him that, in his flight from *Wiggan* to *Worceſter*, he had met with a perfect honeſt Man, and a great convenience of concealment at *Boſcobel* Houſe;

whereupon he reſolved to repair thither, and Mr. *Charles Gifford*, who very well knew the way, was appointed to conduct him thither. When they came near *Stunbrigde*, it was debated by them, whether they ſhould march through the Town or not; and being concluded in the affirmative, they reſolved, that thoſe about the King's Perſon ſhould ſpeak nothing but *French*, thereby the better to prevent the Diſcovery of his being there: *Leſley* having, with the *Scotch* Horſe, in the cloſe of the Evening, taken a more direct way *Northward* by *New-Port*, he was now left attended only by *Buckingham*, *Darby*, *Lauderdale*, *Talbot*, *Wilmot*, and a few other Gentlemen, being in all not above ſixty Horſe. At a Houſe about a Mile beyond *Stunbridge*, he refreſh'd himſelf a little with ſome ſmall Beer and a cruſt of Bread, the Houſe affording no better Proviſion; and as he rode forward, he diſcourſed with Colonel *Roſcarrock*, about the conveniency of *Boſcobel* Houſe, and the means of ſecurity, which he and the Earl of *Darby* had found there. *Gifford* humbly propoſing to carry him firſt to *White-Ladies*, a Houſe about half a Mile beyond *Boſcobel*,

Boſcobel, belonging to one *Fitz-Herbert*, where he might repoſe himſelf a while, and then take ſuch farther reſolution as he and his Council ſhould think fit: which was accordingly reſolved on. And being come thither, and knocking at the Door, *George Penderill*, the youngeſt Brother of five, who were all ſeverally inſtrumental in Conducting and Preſerving his Majeſty; hearing ſome body knock at the Gate ſo early, opened the Window, and ſeeing there Mr. *Gifford* and *Francis Yates*, who was his Brother-in-law, he ask'd his Brother what news he brought from *Worceſter*, he replied, the King was defeated, and the Enemy in purſuit of him, and therefore bid him make haſte and let them in: But before he could get down, the King, with moſt of the Lords, had entred the Houſe, and got into the Hall, whither the King's Horſe was likewiſe brought. And having that night rode from *Worceſter* thither, which was about twenty ſix Miles, he was extream hungry, and very much tired with his long and haſty March: whereupon *Gifford* preſently ſent for *Richard Penderill*, who lived near hand, at *Hobbal-Grange*, and *William Penderill* from

Boſcobel.

Boſcobel. *Richard* came firſt, who was immediately ſent back to bring a ſute of his Cloaths for the King; and by that time he came with them, *William* was come likewiſe, and both carried in to the King by the Earl of *Darby*, who told *William*, that was the King, pointing to him, and that he muſt have a care of him, and preſerve him as he had done him; *Gifford* laying the ſame charge on his Brother, which was exactly obeyed by both.

The King was adviſed, whil'ſt the two Brothers were ſent for, to rub his Hands and Face with the Soot of the Chimney, the better to diſguiſe him; and ſome perſons likewiſe diſorderly cut off his locks of hair: and having taken off his blue Ribbond, Buff-Coat, and other Princely Ornaments, and diſtributed what Gold he had in his Pockets amongſt his Servants, put on a courſe Canvas Shirt, (which was borrowed of one *Martyn*,) which done he was to take upon him the Name and Employment of a Woodman; and having, after the Company was diſmiſs'd, a Bill brought him, he and *Richard* went out into the Wood: *William* went home, and *Humphry* and

George

George went out to ſcout, the better to diſcover if any of the Parliament Forces approach'd that way: And it was not above an hour, that the King had been in the Wood, before a Troop of the Enemies Horſe came to *White-ladies*, inquiring for the King. But being told by the Towns-folks, that there was, about three hours before, a party of Horſe come thither, and, as they imagin'd, the King with them, but had made no ſtay; whereupon, inquiring which way they went, they were ſo eager upon the purſuit, that they made no farther ſearch. The King had notice of this, by the two Brothers, who were often ſtraggling into the Town for Intelligence: however he ſtaid all that day in the Wood, ſometimes lying on the Ground, and ſometimes walking, it being ſo rainy, that the thickeſt Tree therein was not able to keep him dry; and being about Noon very hungry, *Richard* ordered his Siſter, the Wife of the aforeſaid *Yates*, to provide him ſomething to eat, and bring it into the Wood, which was done accordingly; which was a Meſs of Milk, mix'd with Eggs and Sugar, in a black earthen Diſh:

The

The King guessing it to be Milk and Apples, and saying, that he loved it very well.

In the Evening he left the Wood, and went with *Richard*, *Humphry*, and *George*, and *Yates*, to *Richard*'s House, under the Name of *William Jones*, a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work; being forced to content himself with a Supper of Bacon and Eggs, of which, after he had eaten a little, he ask'd *Richard*, if he would not eat? who replying, *Yes, Sir*: he said, then you have a better stomach than I; for you have eaten five times to day already. Being resolved to depart that Night to Mrs. *Woolf*'s House, at *Madeley*, *Jane Penderil*, the Mother of the five Brethren came to see him; blessing God, that her Children were honoured to be the Instruments, as she hoped, of his safe-guard and deliverance. At his departure, they all took their leaves of him, (except *Richard*, who was to conduct him thither) beseeching God to guide and bless him; and *Yates* freely offered him Thirty Shillings, which was all he had; whereof he took Ten, and bid him put up the rest.

As

As he went toward *Madeley*, he met with an ill favour'd Encounter at *Evelin*-Mill, about two Miles from that place: The Miller (as it afterward appear'd, a Loyal Man, though they knew it not) had then in his Houſe ſome conſiderable perſons of the King's Army, that had juſt then taken ſhelter there, in their flight from *Worceſter*; and being alarm'd, by *Richard's* unhappily permitting a Gate to clap, through which they paſs'd, was upon his watch, to ſpy if there was any danger, and boldly demanding, Who was there? *Richard* fearing he had purſued them, quitted the uſual way, in ſome haſt, and waded through a little Brook, the King thereupon doing the like, following him only by the ratling of his Leather Breeches, whereby they eſcap'd the Innocent Miller, who not knowing but that they were Enemies, was as glad that he was rid of them.

When they came to *Madeley*, they found Mr. *Woolf's* Family all in bed; but *Richard* having knock'd them up, and acquainted Mr. *Woolf's* Daughter, who came firſt to the door, that the King was there, ſhe immediately receiv'd them into the Houſe, where he refreſh'd

freſh'd himſelf for ſome time, but underſtanding the Rebels kept ſeveral Guards upon the *Severn*, and fearing that ſome of their Party (becauſe many of them paſs'd frequently through that Town) might Quarter at the houſe, as he underſtood they had often done, he thought it unſafe to lodge there, ſince they had no ſecret place for his concealment, but rather choſe to retire into a Barn near adjoining, as a place leſs liable to the danger of a ſurpriſe, where he continu'd all the day following.

During his ſtay in that Place, he conferr'd with Mr. *Woolf*, about his intended Journey into *Wales*, who ſent a truſty Servant of his, to learn more particularly the ſtrength and number of thoſe Guards upon the *Severn*; who brought them word, that not only all the Bridges were ſecur'd, but the Paſſage-Boats likewiſe ſeiz'd on; ſo that it would not be ſafe for him to proſecute his deſigned Journey into *Wales*: So that *Woolf* adviſed him rather to repair to *Boſcobel-houſe*, which he aſſur'd him was the moſt retir'd place, and the fitteſt for his concealment in all thoſe parts, and there ſtay

till

till an opportunity of a safer conveyance could be found out. According to which advice he resolved to repair thither the night following; and in the mean time, his Hands and Face not appearing sufficiently discoloured, agreeable to his other disguises, *Woolf* provided Walnut-tree Leaves, as the readiest expedient for that purpose; and having boiled them, bathed his Hands and Face in the Water.

Toward the Evening he adventured to return again into the House, and having refresh'd himself, and being furnish'd with conveniencies for his Journey, which was conceived to be safest on foot, he departed about Eleven in the Night, with *Richard*, who was his faithful Guide toward *Boscobel*, where they arrived about Three next Morning: Being come near the House, *Richard* left him in the Wood, whil'st he went in to see that there were no Soldiers there, or any other appearance of danger, where he found Col. *Carless*, who was one of the last that fled from *Worcester*; whereby it was not without incredible difficulty that he made his escape; and having conceal'd himself in *Boscobel*-Wood for some time,

time, was juſt then come thither, to get ſome relief of *William Penderil*, his old acquaintance: And being told by *Richard*, that the King was without, he preſently went with him, where they found him ſitting on the root of a Tree; but being extraordinary glad to ſee the Colonel ſafe, came with him into the Houſe, where he fed very heartily on courſe Bread and Cheeſe, and a Poſſet, which, as a rarity, was made for him by *William*'s Wife, of thin Milk and ſmall Beer; And his Feet being extream dirty, and very much galled with travel, he was forced to waſh them, and for want of Shoes to wear, whil'ſt his own were dried, they were forced to put ſome hot Embers into his own, to dry them a little, whil'ſt his Feet were a waſhing.

Being a little refreſh'd, he was perſwaded by the Colonel, to go back into the Wood, which he ſuppoſed was ſafer than the Houſe, where the Colonel made choice of a thick-leaved Oak, into which *William* and *Richard* help'd them both up, and brought them ſuch Proviſions as they could get, and a Cuſhion for the King to ſit on, whom the Colonel intreated, in regard that

he

he had taken little or no reſt the two preceding nights, to ſeat himſelf as eaſily as he could, and then reſt his Royal head in his Lap, aſſuring him, that he would be ſo watchful, that he need not fear the danger of falling; which he willingly accepted of, and ſlumbred away ſome part of that day, bearing all theſe harſhips and afflictions with a moſt incomparable patience. In the evening he returned to the Houſe, and was Conducted, by *William*, to the ſame place wherein *Darby* had formerly been ſecured, which he liked ſo well, that he reſolved, during his ſtay there, to truſt only to it, and go no more into the Royal Oak, as it was thenceforward called, where he could not ſo much as ſit at eaſe. And now, ſuppoſing himſelf poſſeſt of a hopeful ſecurity, he deſired *William* to ſhave him, and cut the hair of his head, as ſhort on the top of his crown as the Cizers would do it, only leaving ſome about the ears, according to the Country mode; *Carleſs*, who ſtood by, told him, *William* was but a mean Barber: to which he replied, he was no competent Judg of that, in regard he was never ſhaved before. He bad *William*

burn the hair, which was the only Command he was diſobedient to, during his whole attendance upon the King: for he reſerved a good part of it, and kept it as a civil Relick, with ſome whereof he afterwards pleaſured ſeveral perſons of Quality.

Humphry Penderil being, on the *Saturday* following, at *Shefnil*, whither he went to pay ſome Taxes, to one Captain *Broadeway*; at whoſe Houſe he met with a certain Colonel of the Rebels, who was then newly come from *Worceſter* in purſuit of the King: and being informed that he had been at *White-Ladies*, and that *Humphry* was a near Neighbour to the place, and had ſome Relations lived in the Houſe, he examined him ſtrictly, laying before him the penalty of concealing him, which was death without mercy, and the reward promiſed for the diſcovering of him, which was 1000 l. certain pay. But ſo fixt was his Loyalty, that neither fear of Puniſhment, nor hope of Reward, was able to tempt him to a breach of that truſt which the King had placed in him and his Relations; but he pleaded ignorance, and ſo was diſmiſs'd: And at night acquainted the King with the whole

whole paſſage; at the relating whereof, and conſidering the price ſet upon his head, he look'd ſomewhat diſmay'd, as having truſted his Life in the hands of ſuch poor men, who might peradventure, for ſuch a Sum as that, be perverted from their fidelity; which *Humphry* perceiving, was extreamly grieved with his raſhneſs, in acquainting the King ſo unadviſedly therewith: But *Carleſs* aſſuring him, that altho' it was 100000 *l.* yet he would engage his Soul for their honeſty; and *Humphry* backing it with ſeveral ſolemn Proteſtations, he was pretty well ſatisfied. That night *Richard*'s Wife, whom he was pleaſed to call his Dame *Joan*, provided ſome Chickens for his Supper, (a Dainty he had not lately been acquainted with) and a little Bed put into the ſecret place for him to lye on, ſome of the Brothers being by turns continually upon duty, watching the ſeveral Avenues of the Houſe, and the Road-way, thereby to prevent the danger of a ſurpriſe.

After Supper, the Colonel ask'd him, What Meat he would pleaſe to have provided for the Morrow, being Sunday? He told him, That he could wiſh

they had ſome Mutton, if it might be had; which was ſomewhat difficult, in regard it was thought dangerous for *William* to go to any Market to buy it, ſince his Neighbours all knew he uſed not to buy any ſuch Meat for his own Diet, and ſo it might have begot a ſuſpicion in them, of his having ſtrangers in his Houſe; But the Colonel, willing to ſatisfie his Sovereign's deſire, early, on Sunday-Morning, repair'd to Mr. *William Stanton*'s Sheep-Coat, who rented ſome of *Boſcobel*-Ground, and having choſen out one of the beſt Sheep, ſtruck him with his Dagger, and ordered *William* to carry him home.

His Dormitory being none of the beſt, nor his Bed the eaſieſt, he got up pretty early on Sunday-Morning, and having, near the ſecret place where he lay, the conveniency of a Gallery to walk in, he was obſerved to ſpend ſome time in his Devotions; and after his coming down into the Parlour, his Noſe fell a bleeding, which put them all into a great fright, till they were pacified by his telling them, it often did ſo.

As

As ſoon as the Mutton was well cold, *William* cut it up, and bringing a Legg of it into the Parlour, the King call'd for a Knife and a Trencher, and having cut ſome of it into Collops, and prick'd them with a Knive's point, call'd for a Frying Pan, and very artificially cook'd them himſelf, of which, when they were ready, he eat very heartily; the Colonel in the mean time officiating as the Under-Cook, (which he look'd upon as a great Honour too,) making the Fire, and turning the Collops in the Pan: Which Paſſage being, after their ſafe arrival in *France*, call'd to mind, and merrily reflected upon, he propoſed it as a Problemetical Queſtion, Whether Himſelf, or the Colonel, were the Maſter-Cook at *Boſcobel*? And the ſupremacy was judg'd of right to belong to him. The other Brothers were, in the mean time, applied in their ſeveral ſtations, either ſcouting abroad, to learn Intelligence, or upon ſome other neceſſary Service; But it ſo pleaſed God, that, although the Soldiers had ſome Intelligence of his Majeſty's having been at *White-ladies*, and knew that he was gone thence, yet they never ſearch'd the Houſe, nor that of *Boſcobel*.

He ſpent ſome part of that Lord's day in reading in a pleaſant Arbour, he met withal in *Boſcobel*-Garden, planted upon a Mount, wherein there was a ſtone Table, and Seats about it, which he very much commended for its retiredneſs: And having underſtood by *John Penderil*, that the Lord *Wilmot* was at Mr. *Whitgrave*'s Houſe, he ſent him thither, to let him know, he was well, and would come himſelf to *Moſely* that night: But when *John* came to *Moſely*, he was removed from thence to *Bently*; at which he was very much troubled: but, however, acquainted *Whitgrave*, and Mr. *Huddleſton*, who was then there, that the King was returned to *Boſcobel*, and with the ill accommodation he had there; whereupon they both reſolved to go with him to *Bently*, where the Lord *Wilmot* appointed to meet them and the King, in a little Grove of Trees, not far from *Whitgrave*'s Houſe, about Twelve or One of the Clock that Night; and ordered *John* to return again to *Boſcobel*, and acquaint the King therewith: who having not yet recovered his late foot Journey to *Madeley*, was not able, without a Horſe,

Horſe, to Travel to *Moſely*; wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould ride upon *Humphry*'s Mill-horſe, (he being the Miller of *White-ladies* Mill) which was taken up from graſs, and not accoutred with rich Trappings, or ſuch gaudy Furniture as would have becom'd ſo great a King, but with a ſorry old Saddle, and a worſe Bridle.

When he was ready to mount, *Carleſs* being ſo well known in that Country, that his attendance would in all probability have proved rather a diſſervice than any advantage to him, he humbly took his leave of him, heartily praying for his conſtant preſervation; with which excuſe he was ſo well pleas'd, that he afterward gave him, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, by the Name of *William Carlos*, which in *Spaniſh* ſignifies, *Charles*, an honourable Coat of Arms, bearing an Oak proper, in a Field Or; a Feſs-Gules, charged with Three Regal Crowns of the Second; and for his Creſt, a Civice Crown, with a Sword and Scepter croſs Saltier-wiſe; with this *Motto*, *Subditus fidelis Regis & Regni ſalus.*

Having parted with the Colonel, he rode toward *Moſely*, being led thither through By-ways, altho' it was Midnight, by the five Brothers, who attended at a convenient diſtance, each of them having a Pike-ſtaff, or a Bill, on their ſhoulders, and ſome of them Piſtols in their Pockets; reſolving, if they ſhould have been queſtioned, or encountred, by five or ſix Troopers only, to have ſhewed their Valour, in defending him, as well as their Fidelity, in concealing of him: He had not rid far, before he began to complain of the Horſe, being never uſed to ride ſuch kind of Beaſts as that was, That it was the heavieſt, dull Jade, that he ever rode on: whereupon the owner replied, ſomewhat beyond the uſual notion of a Miller, *My Liege, can you blame the Horſe for going heavily, when he has no leſs than the weight of three Kingdoms on his back?* When they were come to *Penford*-Mill, which was within two Miles of *Whitgrave*'s Houſe, his Guides deſired him to alight, and walk the reſt of the way, the foot-path being more ſecure and much nearer, which he conſented too; and *Humphry* and *George* being to return with the

the Horſe; the reſt waited on him, to his Journey's end, but having forgot, upon parting, to take his leave of thoſe that went back, he haſtily turned, and called them to him again, and ſaid, *My Troubles make me forget my ſelf; I thank you all:* And ſo having given them his Hand to kiſs, he proceeded on his Journey.

Wilmot, according to his appointment; came to the meeting-place, at his hour, and was received by *Whitgrave*, and conveyed to his old Chamber, but was extreamly troubled, when he found the King was not there at his prefixed time; which made him ſuſpect the worſt, and fear that ſome misfortune had befallen him; wherefore he deſired *Whitgrave* to repair again to the place of meeting, where they had left *Huddleſton* to attend the King's coming; who appearing there about two hours after his appointed time was expired, they conducted him to the Houſe, where that diſconſolate Lord had long expected him with great ſolicitude: ſo ſoon as he ſaw him enter, he kneeled down, and embraced his Knees; and in requital, the King kiſs'd him on the Cheek, and demanded ſomewhat earneſtly

earneſtly of him, what was become of *Buckingham*, *Cleveland*, and others? to which he anſwered, that he could give him no account, but hoped in general, that they were ſafe. Then the Lord addreſſing himſelf to *Whitgrave* and *Huddleſton*, ſaid, *Tho' I have hitherto concealed the Name of my Friend, yet now I adventure to tell you, That it is my Maſter, your Maſter, and the Maſter of us all:* Whereupon the King gave them his Hand to kiſs, and told them, that he had received ſuch an account, from *Wilmot*, of their Fidelity, that he ſhould never forget it, deſiring to ſee the ſecret place where he was to be concealed; which having viewed, he liked it very well. And then returning into *Wilmot*'s Chamber, he ſate down on the Beds ſide, and his Noſe bleeding, he pluck'd out of his Pocket a Handkerchief courſe and dirty, being ſuitable to the reſt of his Apparel, which was a Leather Doublet, a pair of green Breeches, and a Jump-Coat, (as the Country call'd it) of the ſame green, a pair of his own Stockings, with the tops cut off, becauſe they were embroidered, a pair of old Shooes, cut and ſlaſh'd, to give eaſe to his Feet, an old

old, gray, greaſie Hat, without a lining, and a noggen Shirt, of the courſeſt Linnen; his Face and Hands likewiſe being anſwerable thereunto, made of a ruſty complexion, by the help of the Walnut-leaves. *Huddleſton* obſerving the courſeneſs of his Shirt was very troubleſom to him, and hindred his reſt, deſired know, if he would change it? which he being willing to do, he furniſh'd him with a flaxen one; and pulling off his Shooes and Stockings, carefully dried his Feet, where he found that ſome-body had innocently put white Paper next his Feet, which, with going on foot from the place where he alight, to the houſe, was ſo roul'd between his Stockings and his Skin, that it ſerved rather to increaſe than aſſwage their former ſoreneſs.

Whitgrave had by this time brought up ſome Bisket, and a Bottle of Sack, whereof the King having eat of the one, and drank of the other, and finding himſelf a little refreſh'd, ſaid merrily, *I am now ready for another march; and if it ſhould pleaſe God once more, to place me in the head of but Eight or Ten Thouſand Men, of one mind, and reſolved*

ved to fight, I ſhould not doubt my being able to drive thoſe Rogues out of my Kingdoms. It being now toward break of day, he was deſirous to take a little ſleep, in order whereunto a Pallate was carried into one of the ſecret places, where he lay down and compos'd himſelf to reſt, but ſlept not ſo well as his Hoſt wiſh'd he might, in regard the place was cloſe and inconvenient; after he had lain ſome time in his hole, he got up, and was pleas'd to take notice of, and very familiarly ſalute, Mrs. *Whitgrave*, Mother to him who was the owner of the houſe; and having his place of retreat ſtill ready, he diverted himſelf now and then in a Cloſet over the Porch, from whence he could ſee thoſe who paſs'd by on the Road.

Not thinking it convenient to continue long there, he diſpatch'd *John Penderil* to Col. *Lane* at *Bently*, with directions for him to ſend, or bring, the Lord *Wilmot*'s Horſes that night, about Twelve or One of the Clock, to a Field near adjoining to *Whitgrave*'s Houſe, in order to his putting in execution a Reſolution he had taken up, of going *Weſtward*, under the protection of Mrs.

Mrs. *Jane Lane*'s Paſs, which ſhe had procured for her ſelf and her man, to *Briſtol*, it being moſt probable that the Rebels would purſue him only *Northward*, and not at all ſuſpect his going into the *Weſt*.

In the Afternoon, on Munday, *Whitgrave* having notice, that ſome Soldiers were in the neighbourhood, intending to apprehend him, upon information that he had been at *Worceſter*-Fight; he firſt ſecured the King, who was then lain down upon *Huddleſton*'s Bed, into his place of retreat; and then, leaving open all the Chamber-doors, he went boldly down to the Soldiers, aſſuring them that he had not been from home in a Fortnight before, with which Aſſeveration, and the Teſtimony of his Neighbours, the Soldiers were ſo well ſatisfied, that they departed without going up the ſtairs at all. The old Gentlewoman being told that Afternoon, by a Country-man, who came to her houſe, that he heard the King had, upon his retreat, beaten his Enemies at *Warrington*-Bridge, and that there were three Kings come in to his aſſiſtance: As ſoon as he was gon, ſhe went up, and related the ſtory to his

Majeſty,

Majeſty for his divertiſement; who ſmiling anſwered, ſurely they were the three Kings of *Cullen* come down from Heaven, for he could not imagine what other Kings they ſhould be; at which time, looking out at the Cloſet Window, he ſaw two Soldiers paſſing by on the Road, telling *Huddleſton* that he knew one of them to be a *Highlander*, and of his own Regiment, who little imagined his King and Colonel to be ſo near: and thereupon entred into ſome diſcourſe with him, about the particulars of the Battel at *Worceſter*, who told him, that his Counſels had been ſooner diſcovered to the Rebels than executed by his Loyal Subjects.

On *Wedneſday*, about one in the morning, *Lane* himſelf brought the Horſes to conduct him to *Wilmot*, who went the day before to *Lanes* Houſe at *Bently*. At his departure from *Whitgrave*'s, he acknowledged his gratuity by returning them many thanks, giving them directions to repair to a Merchant in *London*, who ſhould have order to furniſh them with Mony and means to convey them beyond the Sea, if their entertaining of him ſhould happen to be diſcovered; promiſing moreover, that if ever

ever God ſhould reſtore him to his Crown, he would not be unmindful of their civilities. And ſo being furniſh'd with a Cloak and Boots, he went to a corner of the Orchard where *Lane* attended him, and went with him to *Bently*, where, according to his intention, he took the opportunity of her Paſs, and rode before her to *Briſtol*, the Lord Lord *Wilmot* attending him at a diſtance. The King being ſomewhat indiſpoſed in body, complained to Miſtris *Lane* that his Cloak wearied him; whereupon ſhe deſired her Father, who likewiſe rode with them, to carry it for him: but ſhe had not rode far, before ſhe met her Brother-in-law, who demanded, if her Father muſt carry her man's Cloak; ſhe replied, to wipe off all ſuſpicion, that it was ſo big, that it often endangered the throwing her down, or otherwiſe ſhe would not have been ſo uncivil. And no ſooner was they rid of this danger, but they met with one far greater; for being to paſs through a Town, where a Troop of Horſe was drawn up, as if on purpoſe to oppoſe their paſſage, he began to fear the worſt; but the Captain was very civil, and taking them for honeſt Travellers,

lers, (as indeed they were,) commanded his Troop to open to the Right and Left and give them free and quiet paſſage.

To intermix ſo many Tragical ſtories with a little mirth, I cannot paſs by an accident which happened to him at *Leigh*, which, although ſurrounded with ſo many misfortunes, made him laugh at the conceit of it. For being left there in the Kitchin, under the notion of a Serving-man, the Maid entred into diſcourſe with him, inquiring where he was born, what trade he was, how long he had lived with Miſtris *Lane*, and ſeveral ſuch Queſtion, ſuitable to a Kitchin Maids curioſity; to which he replied, he was born at *Brumingham* and was a Naylors Son. But the Jack being down, ſhe deſired him to wind it up; which task he willingly undertook, but being unskilful therein, went the wrong way about it, and was like to have ſpoiled the Jack: whereupon the Maid highly incenſed, (it being uſual with Cooks to be of cholerick diſpoſitions,) vented her paſſion in *Billingſgate* terms, asking him, Where he was bred? and telling him, he was the moſt ignorant fellow ſhe ever ſaw in her life, that could

could not tell how to wind up a Jack, with other ſuch kind of Language as came uppermoſt, which being uttered with much vehemence, made him, notwithſtanding his preſent condition, walk out of the Room ſmiling.

This Gentleman having great reſort to his Houſe, he feared it might occaſion a diſcovery of his Perſon; he feigned himſelf ſick of an *Ague*, and under that pretence, kept his Chamber all day, and came down only at nights: and that his Diſeaſe might appear real, he deſired of the Butler a Glaſs of Wine, who courteouſly invited him into the Cellar, and there forced him to drink two or three Healths, one to his Majeſty, and another to his Mother. But at length, by ſomething he obſerved in him, notwithſtanding his Diſguiſe, he ſuſpected him to be the King; and thereupon falling on his knees, begged his Pardon, and aſſured him he would be faithful to him in whatſoever he ſhould command him: of which he took little or no notice, but having drunk off his Wine went away. Whereupon the Butler's ſuſpicion increaſing, he went up and inquired of M. *Laſſel*, who though angry at the Butler's in-

quiſitiveneſs, yet he demanded the reaſon of it; and the Butler, whiſpering him in the ear, told him, he believed it was the King: upon which unexpected accident, he ſent for him up, and acquainted him with the Butlers ſuſpicion, who though he was diſpleaſed with his not having acquainted him firſt with it, yet putting confidence in him, denied it not, and afterward found him very inſtrumental in his conveyance through the Country.

Being deſirous to free himſelf from all dangers of diſcovery, he was deſirous to haſten his putting out to Sea; but though there lay a little Bark there, deemed very fit for that purpoſe, yet the Maſter would for no reward be prevailed upon to tranſport a ſingle Perſon: whereupon, unwilling to tempt Providence too far, he reſolved to go farther *Weſt*, to a Noble Gentlemans Houſe whom he knew to be a truſty friend, being accompanied thither by Mr. *Laſſell* and Mrs. *Lane*, where he was concealed for about a week, and at laſt preparation was made for his paſſage. But coming to the place where it was provided, he chanced to dine with a Colonel of the Parliament Army; where-

whereupon, fearing that his embarking ſingly might raiſe ſome ſuſpicion in him, he rather choſe to loſe the benefit of his paſſage, than after ſo many Storms and Tempeſts to ſplit upon a Rock within ſight of Harbour, and therefore returned to the place from whence he came: from whence, after about three weeks longer concealment, he was conveyed through by-ways to a Gentlemans Houſe in *Suſſex*, where having continued ſome few days, and the heat of the ſearch after him being now pretty well over, he was at laſt furniſh'd with a ſmall Veſſel which took him in at *Sharrem*, a little Creek in that County, and Landed him near *Havre-de-grace* in *Normandy*. When the Skipper ſaw him he was a little daunted, for he preſently knew him, having ſeen him divers times before; but having ſomewhat collected himſelf, he ſaid, ſince he had undertaken ſo good a work, he was reſolved to venture hanging rather than not perform it: to which the King replied, he need not put himſelf upon that hazard, for, if he pleaſed, he ſhould go along with him, where he ſhould not want as long as he was able to provide for him.

Hamilton, *Darby*, *Lauderdale*, *Gifford* and the reſt, having thus diſpoſed of the King in a way of ſecurity, march'd from *White-Ladies* Northward, by the way of *Newport*, in hope to overtake or meet General *Leſley* with the main Body of the *Scotch* Horſe; but aſſoon as they were got into the Road, the Lord *Leviſton*, who commanded his Majeſties Life-Guard, overtook them, being purſued by a Party of Rebels: whereupon the Lords, with their followers, faced about and repelled them. But when they were got a little beyond *Newport*, ſome of *Lilburn*'s Regiment meeting them in the Front, and other Rebels from *Worceſter* purſuing them in the Rear, themſelves and Horſes being very much beaten out and tired, *Darby*, *Lauderdale*, *Gifford* and ſome others, were taken and carried Priſoners firſt to *Whit-Church*, and then to an Inn in *Banbury*, from whence *Gifford* found means to eſcape. But *Darby* was conveyed to *Weſtcheſter*, and there tryed by a pretended Court Marſhal, held by a Commiſſion from *Cromwel*, grounded on an execrable *Rump* Act, which traiterouſly pretended to prohibit all correſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, under penalty of High-Treaſon,

loſs

loſs of Life and Eſtate; by which he was condemned to loſe his Life, notwithſtanding his juſt Plea, that he had Quarter granted him by Captain *Edge*, who took him Priſoner: and was ſhortly after Executed at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, in a moſt Barbarous and unhuman manner.

Lauderdale and others were conveyed firſt to the Tower, and afterward to *Windſor* Caſtle, where they continued divers years.

But whilſt the Rebels were plundering thoſe Noble Perſons whom they had taken Priſoners, the Duke, with *Leviſton*, *Blague*, *Darcey May* and others, forſook the Road, and betaking themſelves to a by-way, got into *Ceſſardine* Woods, not far from *Newport*, where they received ſome refreſhment at a little obſcure Houſe; and afterward by two honeſt Labourers, whom they met withal in an adjoyning Wood, and to whom they communicated the miſery and diſtreſs which the fortune of War had reduced them to, were directed to places of ſafety. The Duke, in imitation of his Royal Maſter, quitting his Horſe, and delivering his *George*, which was given him by the Queen Mother, to Mr. *May*, who

having preſerved it in ſeveral eminent dangers, reſtored it to him again in *Holland*; and changing habit with one of the Workmen, he was, in that diſguiſe, conveyed to the Houſe of one Mr. *Haley*, at *Biſtrop* in *Nottinghamſhire*: *Leviſton* and the reſt, all quitted their Horſes likewiſe, and ſeverally ſhifted for themſelves.

The King being ſafely Landed in *Normandy*, he went forthwith to *Diepe*, where he provided himſelf with ſuch neceſſaries as might ſerve him until he came to his Mother in the *French* Court; who, ſo ſoon as they heard of his ſafe arrival, ſent ſeveral Perſons of Quality to meet him with great Pomp, as became his Perſon, who received him with much gladneſs, and very much rejoyced at his ſafety, conveying him to *Paris* in the Duke of *Orleans* his own Coach; where he found ſuch a welcom as his Perſon and Worth deſerved, and as great as that Court could expreſs for the ſafety of their beſt Allie: and by his Mother and the two Dukes, with as great a joy as became them upon the receiving of him whom they once thought had been loſt and periſhed.

Theſe Complements being once over, he purſued his intereſt in *Holland*, by the mediation of his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, and his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, indeavouring to prevail with them, according to their former promiſes, to undertake a War againſt the *Engliſh* Parliament, which they accordingly did: but being not able to cope with the Valour of the *Engliſh*, nor prevail againſt that ſucceſs which ſeemed to be entailed to the *Rump* in all their undertakings, they were unſucceſsful therein, and it contributed very little toward the promoting of his deſigns.

The King being once again excluded out of all his Dominions, they quickly after reduced *Corn-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, the Iſle of *Man*, and all other places both in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which ſtood out for him.

Which was no ſooner done, but there happened a ſtrange alteration in the Scene of affairs in *England*; for *Cromwel*, whoſe ambition was now ripe, knowing that he could not expect a fairer opportunity to Uſurp that ſupreme Power which he had ſo long been aſpiring too, in regard every one

began now to grow weary of the baſe actions of the *Rump*, whoſe dilatory proceedings, and apparent intentions of perpetuating themſelves, rendred them hateful to all Mankind: he entred into their Houſe, attended by ſome of his principal Officers, where having delivered divers reaſons why, he thought, that Parliament ought to be Diſſolved, and a period put to its ſitting: He commanded them, (notwithſtanding they were his Maſters, and from whom he derived his Commiſſion,) immediately to depart, which was done accordingly; for how unwilling ſoever they were to obey, yet it was now out of their Power to diſpute his Authority: ſo that thoſe who had murthered one King, and refuſed to reſtore a ſecond, were turned out of door, and deprived of all Authority and Power, by their own Servant. Whereat the whole Nation rejoyced, and ſcarce a Man grieved for their Diſſolution but themſelves, every one believing, that though the Nation might not peradventure be bettered by that change, yet it was almoſt impoſſible it ſhould be worſe: but however, *Cromwel* fearing that ſome might be diſcontented with his Proceedings,

ceedings, Publiſhed a large and ſpecious Declaration, ſhewing his Reaſons for his Diſſolving of them.

But his deſign being only to make himſelf great, he did not intend to give relief, by taking away the tyranny, but by changing of it only; and therefore inſtead of that *Juncto* which he pulled down, ſet up another of his own arbitrary election, who knowing before-hand what they had to do, after having ſate a while, reſigned up their power to him, who reſolving to make the beſt of that reſignation, pretended that the whole Supream Power and Authority of the three Kingdoms, both Civil and Military, was thereby in courſe devolved upon him, and thereupon calling a Councel of Officers, to conſult about ſetling the Government; they reſolved, after ſeveral debates, to have a Common-wealth in a ſingle perſon, and that perſon ſhould be *Oliver Cromwel*, by the name and ſtyle of *Lord Protector*, &c. He at firſt ſeemingly refuſed the Dignity, altho' it was the only thing he aimed at; but being preſs'd by the Officers of the Army, he conſented to accept of it, and was inſtall'd with great pomp in the Chancery-

Court

Court at *Weſtminſter-hall*, and ſhortly after concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*: He was afterward importuned by his Parliament, to exchange his Title of *Lord Protector*, for that of *King*; which he refuſed, and choſe rather to continue the old.

The King, when he came into *France*, found that Court very much embroil'd, on the account of ſome miſ-underſtandings between the Prince of *Conde*, and other Princes of the Blood, and the Cardinal *Mazarine*, which he undertook to compoſe, urging his own danger to the King, and adviſing him to beware how he provok'd his Subjects; and urging the King's power to the Princes of the Blood, whereby he unhappily drew upon himſelf the jealouſies of both parties; being ſuſpected by the Cardinal, to be for the Princes; and by them, to take part with him, againſt their intereſt; which they were the more induced to believe, becauſe he withdrew the *Lorrain* Forces from their Service, and imployed them to reduce *Ireland*; knowing, that the winning that was the moſt probable way for the obtaining of *England*; and promiſing, in recompence, to make

that

that Duke, Duke of *Ireland*; but they thought he only aimed at their diſappointment: upon the account of which miſinterpretations of his peaceable deſign, in his endeavours to reconcile them, he was forced to retire, for ſome time, to St. *Germans*, his Mother being ſcarce able to ſtay at the *Louvre*, for the unreaſonable and cauſleſs clamours of the miſtaken multitude; but when their heat and fury was over, he returned thither again, where he ſtaid for ſome time longer in great eſteem with that Court, until the ſubtle Cardinal began under-hand to make a Peace with *Cromwel*; and when he could not, by all the means he uſed, prevent its taking effect, he retired toward *Germany*, knowing that the iſſue of it would be a fair complementing of him out of their Dominions, and baniſhing of him out of his very exile.

Upon his arrival in *Germany*, he is entertained by the Elector of *Cologn*; and during his ſtay in that Court, he had an interview with the Queen of *Sweden*, whom, as the Report went, he was to have married, had he not diſliked her light and *Frenchified* Deportment: In the interview, he thank'd her

her for all thoſe civilities which ſhe had for his ſake ſhewed to any of his Friends, and particularly to *Montroſs*; to which ſhe replied, their own and his worth deſerved no leſs. There was preſent at this interview, the King's two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*; the latter whereof was ſent for by him from *Paris*, upon information, that his Mother had a deſign to put him into the Jeſuits Colledge, and breed him up in the *Popiſh* Religion, to which he was always an irreconcileable Enemy, and therefore would not permit his Brother to be brought up in it.

And ſo pregnant an inſtance of his intire love to, and reſolution to defend, the *Proteſtant* Religion, profeſs'd in the Church of *England*, was his proceedings in this Affair, even in thoſe days when there was ſo little hopes to ſee it ever reſtored again, that I think it worthy of a perpetual remembrance, and therefore ſhall here inſert the chief circumſtances relating to it.

Having deſigned to take the Duke of *Gloceſter* with him into *Germany*, he was prevail'd upon, by the Queen, to leave him with her at *Paris*, promiſing, that

that ſhe would not permit any force to be put upon him, for the prevailing with him to change his Religion, but that he ſhould be attended by thoſe *Proteſtant* Servants which himſelf had placed about him, and have free liberty to reſort to the Publick Service of the Church of *England*, at the King's Chappel, which was then at Sir *Richard Brown*'s houſe, whom he left as his Reſident in *Paris*.

But not long after his departure, the Duke, under pretence of weaning him from the company of ſome young *French* Gallants, who being in the ſame Academy, were grown into a more familiar converſation with him than was thought convenient, was removed to Abbot *Mountague*'s houſe, at his Abby near *Pontoiſe*, and after he had been there a few days, Mr. *Lovel*, who was his Tutor, going to *Paris* for one day only upon buſineſs deſignedly contrived, as was ſuſpected, by the Abbot; during his abſence, he was vehemently preſs'd, by the Abbot, with all the ſtrongeſt Motives, Spiritual or Temporal, that he thought might prevail upon him, to turn *Roman Catholick*; and having no *Proteſtant* near him at that

that time to adviſe withal, but Mr. *Griffin* of his Bed-Chamber, a Gentleman about his own age, both of them not being able to make much more than Thirty, he doubted not but to prevail.

But notwithſtanding the greenneſs of his years, ſuch was his zeal for his Religion, that after having made ingenious Replies to all the Abbots Arguments, he told him, that he very much admired how he durſt make that attempt upon him, knowing that the Queen had engaged her word to the King, that no change of his Religion ſhould be endeavoured; And telling him, that for his own part he was reſolved not to incurr the King's diſpleaſure, by neglecting to obſerve his Royal Command, whereby he expreſly forbid him to liſten to any Arguments which ſhould be uſed with him for the change of his Religion; And that as to the ſpecious Pretences of making him a Cardinal, or procuring of him to be advanced to the *Engliſh* Throne, he did with indignation and contempt, deride and reject them, complaining withal of his being diſingeniouſly dealt with, by his being thus

aſſaulted

aſſaulted in the abſence of his Tutor, whom the King had placed over him, and who, he believed, could eaſily refute the ſtrongeſt of his Arguments: Which, upon his return, he did ſo fully, that it was thought convenient to remove the Duke back again to *Paris*, where he was permitted to reſort to the King's Chappel, and enjoy the free exerciſe of his Religion for the preſent, though it was not long that he did ſo; for after ſome little time, the Queen own'd the attempt done on him, to be with her own approbation, declaring, that ſhe could not but endeavour (notwithſtanding her Promiſe to the King, that he ſhould not be forced) to have her Son ſhewed the right way to Heaven, and to have that way propoſed to him, which ſhe thought moſt requiſite for the guiding him thereunto: And that ſhe might, notwithſtanding that repulſe, prevail upon him by degrees, his *Proteſtant* Tutor was put from him, and himſelf hurried out of *Paris* in great haſt, thereby to deprive him of the aſſiſtance of any *Proteſtant*, and conveyed to Mr. *Croft*'s houſe, but under the care of Abbot *Mountague*, none of his Servants, but *Griffin*, being permitted to attend him. The

The News whereof did deeply affect all the Loyal *Proteſtant* Exiles then in *Paris*, but eſpecially the Lord *Hatton*, who underſtanding how violently that young Prince was perſecuted for his Religion, he conſulted with that famous Confeſſor, for the Church of *England*, Dr. *Couſins*, then Dean of *Peterborough* and Chaplain to his Majeſty, and ſince the King's Reſtauration, Biſhop of *Durham*, who thereupon drew up what Arguments and Inſtructions he thought convenient, to fortifie the Duke in that violent aſſault: And knowing how ſtrictly he was guarded from the acceſs of any *Proteſtant*, he being by his Lady related to the Abbot, went to give him a viſit; but his deſign was ſoon gueſſed at, and tho' he obtain'd, for that time, acceſs to the Duke, yet he was ſo carefully watch'd, that it was not without much difficulty, that he unperceived, conveyed to him the Inſtructions that he had prepared for him, and was forced, for the future, to vary his ſtratagems, to procure farther Advices to be from time to time delivered to him.

And

And ſo narrowly was the Duke eyed, by the *Popiſh* Spies ſet over him, and the Prieſts, who were unceſſantly torturing of him with their preſſures to change his Religion, that he had no opportunity to peruſe any of thoſe Papers ſent him; ſo that he was conſtrained to deliver them to *Griffin*, who in the Night, as he lay in his Bed-Chamber, acquainted him what the ſcope and tendency of them was; by the advantage whereof, through the aſſiſtance of almighty God, he did ſo reſolutely withſtand all the violent ſhocks of his Perſecutors, that they thereupon reſolved not only to remove *Griffin*, but to ſhut up the Duke in the Jeſuits Colledge.

The King being informed of all thoſe Proceedings, immediately uſed all poſſible endeavours for his relief, and ſent an expoſtulatory Letter to the Queen his Mother, and laid his Commands on all the moſt eminent of his *Proteſtant* Subjects there, to be to the utmoſt of their power aiding and aſſiſting to him in that great Diſtreſs; and ſending another Letter

likewiſe to the Duke himſelf, which was attempted ſome days before he was removed to the Jeſuits Colledge, to be delivered to him by Sir *George Ratcliff*; but though he was admitted to his preſence, yet he could find no opportunity to deliver him the Letter with privacy, therefore left it with *Griffin*, to be conveyed to him.

In which Letter he reminded him of the ſtrict Command that he had left with him at his departure, to continue firm in his Religion; as alſo the vanity of their Motives, the emptineſs of their Promiſes, together with the laſt Charge of their dead Father, which he ſolemnly gave him with the entail of his Bleſſing annex'd thereunto; telling him withal, that if he ſuffered himſelf to be perverted in his Religion by any inticements whatſoever, or put himſelf into the Jeſuits Colledge, he had then the laſt Letter, that ever he ſhould receive from him, and muſt never look to ſee his Face again.

As

As ſoon as the young Duke had, with an unexpreſſible joy, received this Letter, he firſt, with all poſſible haſt, tranſcribed a Copy of it, and and ſent it immediately to the Queen, begging her leave to repair to *Paris*, both upon the account of thoſe Commands of the King and the Duke of *York*'s being then returned from the *French* Army. But the Queen, unwilling to deſiſt from the proſecuting what ſhe had began, ſent him word, ſhe could not ceaſe wiſhing his ſo great and eternal good, as to change his Religion would be, to which ſhe would not force him; but yet adviſed him however, to hearken to what the Abbot ſhould farther deliver to him; which was, that he ſhould at leaſt be willing to go to the Jeſuits Colledge, where he ſhould have as much liberty in all things, as himſelf could deſire. It being ſtill their reſolution to have forced him thither, if he refuſed, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the Duke of *Ormond*, whom the King diſpatch'd thither from *Germany*, with

Letters and Inſtructions, for the reſcuing of him from his *Popiſh* adverſaries; and had he ſtaid but four days longer, before his arrival at *Paris*, he had come too late, in regard the Duke had certainly been within that time ſhut up in the Colledge, from whence there had been no poſſibility of retrieving him; For the *French* Court had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed that Affair, that he found himſelf neceſſitated to make uſe of all the Prudence and Policy he was Maſter of, before he could accompliſh the buſineſs that he came about: but finding that it was not altogether too late, he ſo effectually purſued thoſe Inſtructions he received from the King, that he procured the Duke's return to *Paris*, and liberty to enjoy the free Exerciſe of his Religion: But no ſooner did he come to the *French* Court, to pay his reſpects to the Queen, but the Queen-Mother of *France*, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, preſs'd him with all the Allurements imaginable, to turn *Roman Catholick*; telling him, that they look'd upon him as

as a Child of *France*, and that it was for his advantage, and the opportunity they ſhould thereby have of doing him the greater good, that induced them to move him thereunto; adding, that ſince his Father was dead, he ought to obey his Mother's Commands in all things. To which, obſerving the King's Inſtructions, not to engage in any Diſpute with them, he replied only in general terms, That he reſolved to obey his Mother as much as any Son could, or ought to do, and thereby diſſengaged himſelf from any farther purſuit at that time.

But all the allurements of the *French* Court, and the utmoſt ſeverities uſed toward him by his Mother, were not able in the leaſt to ſhake his firmneſs in his Religion; which the Queen with great indignation perceiving, ſome few days after took him apart: and having, firſt, with all the ſweetneſs imaginable, declared to him, how great and tender thoſe affections ſhe had for him were, and how much it grieved her, that very love it ſelf ſhould

compel her to proceed toward him with ſome ſeeming ſeverity. She told him that, for his eaſe ſake, ſhe would ſhorten the time of his Tryal; and therefore, propoſing to him, all the good ſhe aimed at in that deſign, the duty he owed her, and the diſability of the King to maintain him, ſhe commanded him immediately to withdraw into his Lodgings, and there give one hearing more to Abbot *Mountague*, and after, having ſequeſtred himſelf, for a while, from all manner of diverſion, to ponder ſeriouſly upon what ſhe and he ſaid to him, and that night either bring or ſend her a full and final anſwer.

Whereupon the Duke, taking the advantage of the little interim of clearing the Room, ſent *Griffin* to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, deſiring him to repair to him immediately, that he might adviſe with him, how he ought to deport himſelf, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, in that intended privacy with his Mother and the Abbot. But *Griffin* not preſently finding the Marqueſs, the Abbot was there before him, who having

ving expaciated upon what the Queen had but briefly hinted, he preſt the Duke for his final anſwer, which he refuſed to give, 'till he had firſt conſulted with the Marqueſs: whereupon the Abbot for the preſent withdrew, deſiring to be ſent for ſo ſoon as he was come, telling him, that if it were not in an hours time, he would return again, whether ſent for or not. But it was not long after his being withdrawn, that the Marqueſs came; and the Duke having acquainted him with their Propoſals, and demanded his advice and directions therein, was quickly reſolved what anſwer to make, but having been ſo long harraſſed, was deſirous to take a little breath, and therefore neglected to ſend preſently to the Abbot, and went out of his Lodging, into the Court, to divert himſelf: but no ſooner was he gone than the Abbot came, and miſſing him, ſought up and down the Court for him, and having at laſt found him, ſeverely rebuked him for neglecting his Mothers command, and his inſtructions, which was, ſeriouſly to ponderate what he had ſaid, and

for neglecting to ſend for him according to appointment.

Well, Sir, ſaid the Duke, I have ſeriouſly conſidered of all that hath been ſaid to me, and my final anſwer thereunto is, I am reſolved to continue firm in my Religion. Then, replied the Abbot, I am commanded, from the Queen your Mother, to tell you, that ſhe charges you to ſee her face no more. At which diſmal expreſſion, the Duke being not a little moved, begged with great earneſtneſs, that he might be permitted, at leaſt, to implore her parting bleſſing, till he could in time prevail for her pardon, but could not obtain it, though he indeavoured it again the next morning, (being *Sunday*, before ſhe went to her Devotions,) by the interceſſion of his Brother, the Duke of *York*, who did, with great tenderneſs, compaſſionate his condition, and with great earneſtneſs move on his behalf. But the Queen proved inexorable, not only to him, but to all others who ſpoke on his behalf; nor would ſhe intimate her pleaſure to him by any other Perſon

ſon than the Abbot, who ſolicited him again, aggravating the peril of his Mothers diſpleaſure: and adviſing him, at that inſtant, being the moſt proper time, as ſhe was going to Maſs at her Monaſtery, to apply himſelf to her, aſſuring him, that ſhe had thoſe Propoſals to make to him, which would ſet his heart at reſt, though, he ſaid, he could not name them. To which the Duke replied, if it were ſo, I could apply my ſelf to her well enough, for my heart can have no reſt, except in the free exerciſe of my Religion, but I fear her Propoſitions will not, I am ſure yours never tended to give me any eaſe or quiet; at which very inſtant, the Queen paſſed by in her Coach toward her Nunnery: whereupon the Duke approached toward her, and attempted to begg her Bleſſing, but was with great indignation rejected. Whereat ſhewing himſelf very much diſcompoſed, the Abbot came up to him, demanding what it was her Majeſty had ſaid to him, that had put him into ſo great diſorder; to which he briskly replied, what ſhe ſaid I may thank you for, Sir, and therefore it is but reaſon,

that

that what my Mother ſaid to me, I ſhould ſay to you, *Be ſure I ſee your face no more*, and ſo turned about and left him: whereupon the Abbot calling after him, ſaid, Whither are you going, good Sir? To whom, looking over his ſhoulder, he anſwered, to Church, whither he immediately repaired, with a ſad and dejected countenance, which did much abate the joy of the Congregation, who were much pleaſed to ſee him accompany his Brother the Duke of *York* thither; but they partook with him in his ſorrow, when they underſtood that, after Sermon, he was to ſeek where to get a Dinner, for which he muſt ſend to the Cooks, or faſt, for there was a very ſtrict Prohibition given to all the Officers in his Mothers Court, that they ſhould not furniſh him with any Proviſions or neceſſaries.

That night, after Evening Prayer, he had hopes to enjoy one moment of ſatisfaction, by converſing with his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta*, afterward Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, during his Mothers abſence; but as ſoon as the young

young Princeſs heard the news of his deſigned adventure, ſhe was ſo frighted into ſhrieks and tears, that ſhe cryed out, *Oh God, my Brother! Oh me, my Mother! What? I am undone for ever: What ſhall I do?*

Which as ſoon as the Duke heard, he retired, not being willing his dear Siſter ſhould, by her kindneſs to him, purchaſe her Mothers diſpleaſure. In this diſconſolate condition he went to his Lodging; when it was nine a Clock at night, his Groom came to know what he ſhould do with his Horſes, for the Queens Comptroller was come to him, with a charge, to remove them inſtantly: whereupon the Groom pleaded, it was then too late, and that on the morrow it would be time enough, but the Comptroller replied, he ſhould then be put out of his place e'er the morning.

The next day the Sheets were taken off his Bed, finding therefore that he could not be permitted to ſtay at the Palace-Royal, he thought, until he could

could provide neceſſaries for his Journey into *Germany*, to retire to the Houſe of Mr. *Crofts*, (afterward Lord *Crofts*, near *Paris*; whereof the Queen hearing, ſhe check'd Mr. *Crofts* for being willing to receive him, with which he acquainted the Duke, but ſubmits however to his pleaſure.

In this ſtrait the Duke betook himſelf to the advice of that faithful Servant to his Family, and zealous Proteſtant, the Lord *Hatton*, by whoſe judicious inſtructions, he had received much ſatisfaction in this his diſtreſſed condition; who, ſo ſoon as the Duke had made known to him, that he was not only turned out of his Mothers Houſe, but that all perſons, who had any dependency upon her, were forbidden to receive or aſſiſt him: his Lordſhip told him, if his Highneſs would pleaſe to honour his Houſe with his preſence, he ſhould there be received with all the dutiful regard that could be paid to him by ſo ancient and faithfully devoted Servant of his Royal Family; And with an

an Entertainment as ſuitable to his Quality, as the remains of that Fortune he had ſpent in his Father's Service would afford.

But this the Duke, out of great modeſty, at firſt declined, alledging the great hazard, which he knew he would thereby run, of having his Eſtate again ſequeſtred in *England*, as well as by incurring the diſpleaſure of the *French* Court, endanger his being exil'd that Kingdom, for his kindneſs to him, as he had been that of *England*, for his Service to his Father; and, perhaps, be endangered in his perſon too, by the fury of the Rabble, who might, peradventure, be animated by ſome enraged *Papiſt*, for thus diſappointing them, of making a Proſelyte of him as they boaſted they had done, and given Publick Thanks for it in diverſe of their Churches.

But his Lordſhip aſſur'd him, that as he had hitherto ſpent the greateſt part of his Life and Fortune in the Service

Service of his Royal Family, and the defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion, ſo he would willingly ſacrifice the remainder of both on ſo honourable an occaſion as that; with which hearty invitation, he was ſo pleas'd, that he took no farther thoughts whither to go, but concluded to remain with him.

Being thus gone from the Palace-Royal, the Queen-Mother of *France* came immediately thither, to try once more, if ſhe could prevail with him, to change his Religion; and as ſoon as ſhe came, ſent her Son, the Duke of *Anjou*, to viſit him; who return'd with the News, that he was not to be found: but as ſoon as it was known where he was, ſhe ſent the Marqueſs of *Pleſſis*, to perſwade him to comply with his Mother's advice; For the effecting whereof, he exerciſed all his Parts and Elocution, with the greateſt earneſtneſs; and affirming, that ſince the death of his Father, the Queen his Mother, had ſole Power and Authority over him; diſputing, whether

whether the King his Brother, as his Sovereign, had an equal right to diſpoſe of him.

And the Diſcourſe growing ſomewhat publick, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Hatton*, who were then likewiſe preſent, arguing in the Duke's defence; the *French* Marqueſs finding himſelf over-match'd by their Reaſons, in great paſſion return'd, without the ſucceſs ſuſpected at the Palace-Royal, where the *French* Queen ſtayed very late, till he came back: whoſe Report, when both Queens heard, they were then ſo fully ſatisfied in the Duke's firmneſs to his Religion, that after that time, no conſiderable attempt was made on him, altho' he continued for near two Months there; being nobly entertained all that time by the Lord *Hatton*, until, through his and the Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s intereſt, Neceſſaries were provided for his going into *Germany*, to the King.

From

From the interview of the Queen of *Sweden*, which was held at a ſmall Village near *Frankford*, (at the ſame time when the Fair was there) he returned, with great ſatisfaction, to *Cologn*, where he was welcomed with all imaginable demonſtrations of Joy, by the Magiſtrates and the whole City; where he had not ſtaid long, before the Duke of *York* came to him, being complemented away from *France*, upon the concluſion of the Treaty with *Cromwel*, notwithſtanding his incomparable worth, diſcovered in the Court, and in the Camp; where he behaved himſelf ſo well, that the Duke of *Longueville* was willing to have match'd his Daughter to him, altho' he was in exile; and the Marſhal *Turein* commended him, in the time of his ſickneſs, to the *French* King, as the fitteſt perſon to be Commander in chief of all his Forces.

And

And ſo deſirable was his company
nong all Princes, that *Don Lewis de*
aro, and *Don John* of *Auſtria* migh-
y importun'd him to come over to
em in *Flanders*, which invitation he
cepted of, and he repaired thither,
th to promote his own cauſe, and
e King of *Spains* affairs; in order
reunto he commanded all his
gliſh, Scotch and Iriſh Subjects in thoſe
rts to be liſted for his Service, which
nounted to about three or four thou-
nd, beſides the two Regiments of
rk and *Gloceſter*, and maintained a
nſtant correſpondence with his
iends in *England*, which *Cromwel* ſuſ-
cted, but had no certain knowledge
ereof, having now no Mannings in the
ngs Court to betray his Majeſties ſe-
ets, wherefore he contrived a Plot,
o which by his Emiſſaries he enſna-
d the reverend Dr. *Huet*, Sir *Henry*
ngsby and others, and had them tryed
fore a High Court of Juſtice, and
ndemned and executed for that pre-
nded Conſpiracy. But though he
as repreſented to the City by *Cromwel*
be twenty thouſand ſtrong, when he
as acquainting them with the preten-
nded Plot againſt him; yet he was

not able to attempt any thing upon h
own account, in regard his Forces we
but inconsiderable for number, a
therefore he joyned them with t
Spaniards, and at one attempt to ra
the Siege of *Dunkirk* were defeat
and almost all slain, being deserted
the *Spaniards*, who were not able to
dure the hot charge that *Cromwels* S
diers gave them, notwithstanding
endeavours of the undaunted *York*
rally them, who did Wond
with his own Regiment, putting
whole *French* and *English* Army o
to a disorder, and twice to a stand w
his own Guard only, and some fi
remnant of his overthrown Forces:
which defeat the Kings whole de
being disappointed, he betook him
from his Arms to his Prayers, and
pealed from Earth to Heaven. Ho
ever he still remained in *Flanders*,
kept his Court in *Bruges*, about e
Leagues from *Bruffels*. About this t
Cromwel being resolved to continue
Protectorship in his own Family, c
trived the matter so that his Parliam
should earnestly Petition, solemnly
vise him to name his Succeſſor, wh
was the thing he chiefly desired, t

been on foot in *England* for the promoting his Journeys. The new Protector being look't upon as one weary of that power which was then desolv'd upon him, in regard he knew himself to have as little ability to manage it, as he had right to enjoy it; and was suppos'd not to have that implacable aversation to the Royal Family, which his Father had always discover'd. However, it was not long before the Army thrust him from his Throne, and set up the Rump again, which his Father had pull'd down; after which there were so many alterations and new forms of Government, that it is almost impossible to give the World a particular account of them, every Week almost producing some new Model or other; and there springing up some new Heads of that *Hydra*-Common-Wealth.

The King was not in the mean time idle, but laid out all his Interest and Policy for the promoting his designs; and the procuring such supplies as might encourage those Loyal Subjects that incessantly endeavour'd, by his Restauration to restore their Native Countrey from the Paws of those Lions into which it was fallen, and themselves to the Glorious Liberty of being

Sub-

withſtanding all his former Oaths and Proteſtations againſt ſuffering the Nation to be rul'd by any ſingle Perſon, which, when the King heard, he ſaid to a Perſon of quality, who was then by him, that *Cromwell* had certainly lay'd the beſt Foundation that a ſhort and troubleſom reign could poſſibly admit of, at once to deprive him of his juſt and rightful Dominions, and to ſettle his own Poſterity in his unjuſt and uſurpt Authority. And when he receiv'd the news of his death, he ſhew'd an admirable calmneſs and ſerenity of Spirit; Reaſon, Religion and Diſcretion having ſuch a powerful command over his paſſions, that though it ſeem'd in all probability to be a conſiderable ſtep toward his Reſtauration, in regard his moſt implacable as well as ſucceſsful Enemy was now gone, yet he did not diſcover any extraordinary ſymptoms of Joy.

But as that great alteration in *England* did change all the publick Councels of *Europe* in general, ſo did it likewiſe ſomewhat alter his: for, he now ſet up new negotiations in moſt of the forraign Courts, that ſo he might not be wanting to himſelf, whilſt there were the moſt hopeful deſigns that had ever yet

bject to so great and good a Prince
nd although *Holland* offered fairly,
d some Princes with the Emperor of
ermany began now to pity forlorn
d exiled Majesty, especially dwelling
a Prince of that worth, as he was ac-
unted to be, by all those who had
e happiness to know him; yet the
eatest hope and expectation from any
those Forraign Affairs was, the peace
at was then mediating by the Pope, be-
een the two Kingdoms of *France* and
ain, managed by the two great Fa-
urites of each Kingdom, the Cardi-
l *Mazarine* and the Count *de Olivarez*
on the Borders of St. *Jean de Luz*,
hich if it succeed, must in all proba-
lity prove advantageous to his affairs,
regard both Crowns could not upon
e conclusion of peace between them,
stow their Forces upon any service
at would render more to their honour
an that, of endeavouring his Restau-
tion; although he rather desired to
mploy their Interest than their Arms,
d intended to let *England* know what
ey might do for him, rather then to
ake them feel the effects of any thing
ne by them. And although he expected
ey should have an Army ready to

good the agreement; yet he intende
they should prevail more by their Re
sons than their Forces.

The managing of this Treaty be
tween the two Kingdoms, being a bu
siness that so much concerned him
particular, as well as *Europe* in gener
he condescended to negotiate there
in his own person, notwithstanding h
had Residents in most Christian King
doms. And in order thereunto betoo
himself first to one Court, and then
another, (the Duke of *York* accom
panying him) *incognito*, being sensib
of the danger which might accrue bo
to his cause and Person, upon the scr
ples of a solid interview, it being gen
rally observed, the interviews of Pri
ces are unhappy. And by the way,
he passed through *France*, he gave a v
sit to his Mother, intending before h
had undertook the negotiation of
publick reconciliation between th
two Kingdoms, to practice a priva
one betweeu himself and her, who ha
declar'd herself very much displeas
with him, upon the account of his pro
ceedings in the business of the Duke
Gloceſter; which having accomplish
and finding that that Court did no
giv

give him the honour due to his Perſon, nor an entertainment ſuitable to his expectations; He return'd with his Brother to *Diep* in *Normandy*, going thither by Poſt, with ſuch haſt and privacy, that ſome mens hopes and others fears imagin'd they were gone over into *England*; an attempt at that time too dangerous for ſo wiſe and politick a Prince to adventure on. From *Diep* he remov'd toward the Frontiers of *Spain*, by the way of *Roan*, where he was nobly treated by Mr. *Scot* an *Engliſh* Merchant, and entertain'd with a Sermon ſuitable to his preſent condition; and from thence he went by poſt to *Bajonne*, accompany'd by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and ſo towards the two Miniſters of State that were negotiating the Peace between the two Crowns at St. *Jon de Luz*. The news of this approach did no ſooner reach *Don Lewis*'s Lodgings, but he prepares to meet him with as much ſplendour, as if our Soveraign had been his Majeſty of *Spain*, or himſelf an Engliſh Subject; for when he met him, he immediately alighting from his Horſe, and kneeling (though in a very dirty and inconvenient place) embrac'd and kiſſ'd his Majeſties

Knees, and walk'd before him bare-headed to the place he had order'd to be made ready for him, which was the beſt Lodging the Town afforded; where the next day he received a formal viſit from that ſly, cloſe and reſerv'd Politician Cardinal *Mazarine*, whom he entertain'd with ſuch a diſcreet warineſs, as if he deſign'd to let him know (and thoſe that ſaw him underſtood well enough thereby) that he underſtood the walking *Cabala* almoſt as well as he did himſelf.

Never were any of his great affairs ſo well carried on as that was, which he manag'd himſelf; for by the advantage of his own incomparable Prudence and ſage Experience, together with his powerful Majeſty and Preſence, he ſo far prevail'd in his negotiations there, that notwithſtanding *Lockharts* cloſe applications in behalf of his Maſters, he not only prevented any article that was offer'd and preſt in favour of his rebellious adverſaries of *England*, but alſo procur'd himſelf to be included by *Spain*, as the moſt honourable Ally in the intended Peace, and obtain'd a promiſe from both thoſe Favourites, that they would in purſuance of their Ma-

Masters friendship with him, descended as soon as possible, to treat of such particulars that might be proposed, as the most sutable to the promoting of his Restauration, and consult what Counsels ought to be taken, what Men, Money and other supplys their respective Masters should afford, and how each should be employed for the greatest usefulness to his Service. After which he was dismist with as much Respect and Honour as he was received.

Whilst this Treaty was managing by the two Favourites; the Duke of *York* was, in consideration of his great worth, and the Service he had done for *Spain*, offered the honour of being made Constable of *Castile*, and Lord high Admiral of *Spain*, which he handsomly refused; that Prince having a peculiar way of denying requests as pleasantly to some, as he grants them to others. And indeed it was at that time prudence in him to wave any courtesie that might be proffered by *Spain*, or any other Popish Court, least it might somewhat have retarded his Brothers affairs in *England*, by rendring him suspected of too near compliance with the Catholick Interest, and have rendred the attempts of those who

who were there, endeavouring to clear both his and the Kings Integrity, and Constancy to the reformed Religion? the better to prepare the way for their Re-establishment, vain and fruitless, especially since their implacable Enemies made it their chief design and business to abuse the Credulous with false surmizings, and unjust suspicions of their faithfulness to the Protestant Religion and Interest, to which they had adhered with so much resolution and constancy that neither smiles nor frowns, the prospect of the greatest enjoyments, nor the fear of the heaviest sufferings; the highest Favours from *Rome*, nor the basest Affronts from *England*, could tempt them to the least thought of disloyalty to it.

The King having finisht his negotiations at the Treaty of St. *Jan de Luz* to his great satisfaction, returned with his Brother the Duke of *York* through *France* to *Brussels*, only staying some short time at *Carentia* and *Paris* with the Queen his Mother. And to make his advantage of these stirs and continual alterations in the Government of *England*, since the death of *Cromwel*, which naturally tended towards the promoting his

his Reſtauration (whereby the Nation could only be ſetled) notwithſtanding they were all deſign'd to prevent and hinder it; he ſent over diverſe Commiſſions to diverſe worthy and loyal Perſons, to raiſe Forces on his behalf, and otherwiſe to act as they ſaw convenient for the promoting that grand deſign; by virtue of which Commiſſions, a general Plot was laid for the raiſing of Forces in all the Countyes in *England*, to declare for him. But ſome part of that buſineſs being intruſted to the management of the Lady *Howard*, Daughter to the Earl of *Barkshire*, (who, though loyal enough, yet being in regard of her Sex, incapable of ſecrecy) it was ſoon diſcovered; and ſo *London*, which was the main place, ſecured, and the moſt conſiderable Perſons that were to have done any thing therein, were diſabled by impriſonment or otherwiſe; ſeveral Troops of Horſe likewiſe commanded into *Kent* and *Surrey*, and the raiſing the Militia, haſtned in every County, ſo that no conſiderable party was able to appear any where, except in *Cheſhire*, where moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of that County and *Lancaſhire* were up, under the command of Sir *George Booth* with

with whom and General *Monk* from *Scotland* was to have joyned, if they had not been ſo ſuddainly ſuppreſt. And in *North Wales* were moſt of the Inhabitants aſſembled together under the command of Sir *John Owen* and Sir *Thomas Midleton*, who declared their juſt ſence of the grievances of that Commonwealth, whereof they were Members; and their reſolution to have the Laws, Liberties and Properties of the People eſtabliſht by a free Parliament, which was all that was intended at that time by thoſe commiſſioned by his Majeſty, in regard deſigns were to be diſcover'd gradually, and by peice meals only, as occaſion and opportunity ſhould require.

Notwithſtanding the Rump had prevented moſt of thoſe deſigned inſurrections, yet that of Sir *George Booth*, who was one of their ſecluded Members, appeared very formidable, wherefore they reſolve with all imaginable Speed to ſuppreſs it; and in order thereunto, having firſt proclaimed Sir *Thomas Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Coll. *Warren*, and Major General *Egerton*, and all the reſt of their Adherents, Traytors to the Commonwealth, they commanded *Lambert* to march with three Regiments of

Horſe

Horſe, the like number of Foot, and ſome Dragoons to reduce him and his Forces to their obedience, ordering ſome militia Forces and ſome Regiments out of *Ireland*, under *Zaachy* and *Axtell* to joyn with him for his aſſiſtance therein. Coll. *Deſbrough* being likewiſe ſent by them with the ſame command, and ſome Forces into the Weſt, to redeem *Midleton*, and a Proclamation iſſued out againſt *Mordant* the Earl of *Lichfield*, Major General *Brown*, and *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Levinthorp*, and Mr. *Fenſher*, the three laſt wherof ſurrendring themſelves within the time prefixt therein, the two firſt fled, and the major General waiting another opportunity abſconded himſelf at *Stationers* Hall, where he was preſerved by the faithful Secrecy of Captain *Barrough*. And the Earl of *Samford*, who was likewiſe engaged in that buſineſs was taken at his own houſe in Arms, and carryed Priſoner to *Leſter*, which was at that time the condition of many other Loyal Gentlemen, the Earle of *Oxford* being committed Priſoner to the Serjeant at Arms, the Lords *Faulkland* and *Dellaneer* to the Tower, whither not long after was brought the Lords *Faulconbridge*, *Bella-*

ſis,

firs, *Chesterfield*, *Castleton* and *Howard*.

Lambert in his march toward the confines of *Chester* made no very great haste, being desirous to make a lasting war of it, whereby he hoped to settle himself the better in the affections of the Soldiers, and thereby tread the step that *Cromwel* had done before him; however such methods were taken by his Masters, that very few accessions of Strength came in to Sir *George*, more then what were at first numbred, who nevertheless bravely resolved to abide the fortune of battel, and justifie the equity of their cause by the dint of Sword. In order thereunto they drew up near *Nantwich*, (whether *Lambert* was advancing) in the adjoyning meadows, having the Rivers before them, and the Bridges strongly guarded; but *Lamberts* Horse and Foot resolutely falling on together at the Bridge, the post was soon gained, and the fight as quickly over, the chief defence being made by *Memorgan*, a loyal and valiant Gentleman (who with some Horse of his Troop) who presently died of his wounds. There were in the flight about 3 hundred killed, and five hundred taken prisoners, among whom was most of

the

the Gentlemen and Officers. *Lambert* having obtained this victory, presently advanced with his Army to *Cheshire*, (where Collonel *Croxton* still held out the Castle) and had it presently delivered; from whence he advanced to *Liverpool* which was yielded likewise by *Coll Ireland*, and so was *Chink* and *Harding* Castles, whereby that whole design perished and came to nothing.

Sir *George* himself had made his escape out of the Field, and got away, accompanied with four of his Servants only in disguise, but being discovered at his Inn in *Newport-pannel*, was taken, and secured. One *Gibbons* who immediately posted away to give the Rump an account of it, was highly rewarded for that acceptable news, and so were two or three others, who were sent before from *Lambert* with the particulars of the *Cheshire* defeat; when he was brought up to *London*, *Fleetwood* was ordered to meet him with a guard at Highgate, & secure him to the Tower, where he was the next day examined by *Vane* and *Hazlerick* as to his design and accomplices, but such was his reservedness and resolution, that notwithstanding their suspicion, that the restoring of the

King

King was at the bottom of it, in regard *Monk* was ſaid to be privately engaged with him in the ſame deſign. *Ormond* being reported to have been ſeen about that time at his Houſe at *Dalkeith*, that they could get nothing out of him.

When this deſign was about to be put in execution, the King withdrew himſelf privately from *Bruſſels*, and lay privately upon the coaſt of Brittany about St. *Malloes*, to take ſhipping for *England*, upon the firſt good event of thoſe loyal undertakings of his faithful Friends and Subjects; *Kent* or *Eſſex* being deſigned for the place of his landing, one *Turene* the French General having engaged to wait upon him, if he would command it; but the news of this unhappy defeat reaching his Royal Ears, which had been too long accuſtomed to ſuch unfortunate and unſucceſful ſtories, he returned again to *Bruſſels*; reſolving for the preſent to give over the proſecuting of his Right by the ſword, and attend the good effects of the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*.

But being informed that affairs in *England* were as unſetled as before, and

that

that the Rump, and the Army wholly applied themſelves to undermine and ſubvert each other; he would not wholly deſiſt from attempting to carry on his intereſt there, by the help and aſſiſtance of his Friends. And therefore wiſely conſidering that *Monk*, who was then General in *Scotland*, had formerly been in his Fathers Service, wherein he was taken Priſoner, and was thought to embrace the Parliament intereſt, only becauſe his Ranſom was neglected, and that during the whole time of his ſerving under them and the Protector, he had not diſcovered any particular Spleen or Malice to his Perſon, but had in all things carried himſelf as a Soldier of Fortune only, who fought for his pay; he conceived there might be ſome probable hopes of gaining him to his ſide, if a dexterous application was made to him, in regard he had not that guilt which others had contracted, either by murdering of his Father, or the malignity they had diſcovered againſt himſelf, to render him jealous and ſuſpicious of him. And therefore reſolving as near as poſſible to make uſe of the moſt peaceable and bloodleſs means to recover his loſt Dominions,

he ordered Sir *John Greenvile*, who was one of those Commissioners that resided at *London* for his service, to find out some way to treat secretly with him. But before Sir *John* would proceed therein, he thought it convenient to inform him by whom, and in what manner he had designed to do it, which he did in a Letter written in Cyphers, and directed to Sir *Edward Hide* at *Brussels*, with whom only he was by the Kings order to correspond; wherein he proposed the sending of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* who was Minister of his own Parrish of *Kelkhampton* in *Cornwell*, a living of about three hundred pound *per Annum*, which he had freely bestowed on him, without any other design therein, than only to oblige him to serve his King and Country whenever he had occasion to employ him in any thing that might tend to both their Good, having even then an eye to the General in *Scotland*, to whom he was Brother, which contrivance the King very well approved of, and left the whole management of the business to his secresie and discretion. Whereupon he sent for *Monk* out of *Cornwell* and having first obliged him to secre-

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ſie, accquainted him with the King's Commiſſion, to treat with his Brother, the General, and his deſign of ſending him into *Scotland*, to manage that treaty on the Kings behalf, and gave him a Commiſſion according to the Kings directions (to offer his Brother, in caſe he would undertake that commendable and glorious work of reſtoring the King to his Crown and Dignity) leave to ſet down his own conditions, and aſſure him that the King had promiſed upon his Royal word to perform them.

Monk being fraught with hopes and inſtructions, willingly undertook the happy Embaſſy, embarquing himſelf immediately for *Scotland*, and having a proſperous gale, arrived in a few days at *Leith*, and from thence to *Dulkeith*, where his Brother the General reſided. And that he might remove all ſuſpition of the deſign of his coming, from thoſe about the General, he pretended that the intent of his voyage was only to fetch away his Daughter *Mary*, who at that time lived there in the Generals Family, in order to the beſtowing her in marriage to her advantage, hoping that his Brother would make ſome conſiderable addition to

her Fortune. But the General being at his first arrival engaged in busines, could not entertain him himself, and therefore sent him under the conduct of an highland Foot-Boy, to his Chaplains Chamber, which was Dr. *Price*, who received him with that Courtesie that became him, in regard of his relation to his Master, and so soon as he had made him sit down, began to enquire what news he had brought from *England* about Sir *George Booth*, and the rest of those loyal Gentlemen that were engaged with him, to whom *Monk* made such replies as were suitable to his several questions, and then having been assured before he left *England* of the Dr's. faithfulnes and loyalty, he adventured to acquaint him with the design of his coming thither at that time, and desired his directions how he might, to be with the greatest advantage to the Kings affairs, break that busines, and open his message from Sir *John* to the General, who thereupon told him that his Brother would expect to be satisfied of his Secresie, as well as of his Fidelity, before he would engage himself in such a hazardous affair as that was, since it was necessary that a busi-

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neſs of that importance, ſhould ſleep in as few Breaſts as poſſible, and he might put himſelf, the General and his whole negotiation into a very great hazard, ſhould he rely too much upon the Characters given him in *England* of the ſecret loyalty of any perſons amongſt them, adviſing him therefore to make no more ſuch rude and unadviſed communications of his Embaſſy, and to acquaint his Brother with his having related it to him, aſſuring him for his encouragement, that he verily believed that his Brother would willingly embrace any fair overture for the redeeming of his Country from the ſlavery of the Army. His Wife who had always a great love and veneration for the King, having prepared him to appear in his behalf, when the firſt opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf, and the Soldiers, who troubled not their heads much about Religion, and abbetting of parties, but only fought for their pay, having a general love and eſteem for him, as looking upon him to be a good Soldier, and a diſcreet Commander, under whom they might ſafely engage; he might at any time make himſelf a good party amongſt them, when he

ſhould judge it fit and ſafe to apppear,

Mr. *Monk* having in the Evening an oppportunity to keep private with his Brother, acquainted him with the end of his coming, and the encouragement propoſed by Sir *John*, if he would undertake the work, aſſuring him that he had ſeen the Kings Commiſſion directed to Sir *John* for the impowring of him, to make thoſe offers, wherein he promiſed, upon the word of a King, to perform them: Which upon mature deliberation he highly approved of, and the more, becauſe he underſtood that the Presbyterians and the Lord *Fairfax* would be engaged with him; with whom he ever after maintained a private correſpondence; and therefore from that time took up a reſolution to endeavour his Maſters Reſtauration; relying upon the Faith and Integrity of Sir *John Greenvile*, and confiding in the Kings Word, as much as if he had actually received a Commiſſion from him, for he ſoon after told his Chaplain that he was reſolved to Commiſſion the whole *Scotch* Nation againſt the *Engliſh* Parliament and Army, rather than ſuffer himſelf to be taken or diſplaced by them; although he had at time no other

ther authority to do it by, then that airy commiſſion conveyed unto him by word of mouth from Sir *John Greenvile*, who had it in writing from the King: And the happy ſucceſs of that reſolution was a great demonſtration of the Kings extraordinary prudence and diſcretion in pitching upon *Monk* as the fitteſt perſon to bring about that bleſſed and glorious revolution; and the wiſdom of Sir *John Greenvile* in employing his Brother, rather than any other Perſon, to manage that great and weighty Intreague.

And being informed that there was a ſupplication preſented to the Rump by *Lambert*, in the name of the Army under his command, for the bringing thoſe to puniſhment who had been actually engaged in, or offered any aſſiſtance to *Booth*'s Conſpiracy, and for appointing a General over all their Forces in the three Kingdoms; which inquiſition had it been made, and a ſequeſtration paſt upon it, accrding to their expectation, would have yielded them more Wealth, then all the former ſales of Crown and Church Lands: He began to conclude with himſelf, that he ſhould have a fairer opportunity to put

his reſolutions in practice, then he could have reaſonably expected; for he eaſily foreſaw what was the deſign and intent of that ſupplication, and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he pleaſantly told his Chaplain, that he perceived he ſhould ſhortly have a better Game to play, than he lookt for when he firſt engaged himſelf in the deſign; and that he knew *Lambert* to be of ſuch a reſtleſs and aſpiring temper that he would not long ſuffer the Rump to ſit in quiet at *Weſtminſter*.

And therefore that he might the better make preparations for his future deſigns, he immediately diſpatcht away his Brother to *London* in character of an Envoy, to aſſure the Rump of his faithfulneſs and fidelity to them, and that he was reſolved to ſtand firm to their Intereſt and Authority againſt all oppoſition whatſoever: And for the better wipeing away all ſuſpicion of the true intent and deſign of his Brothers coming, he ſent his Daughter away with him likewiſe.

No ſooner had the General diſmiſt his Bother, but he received a viſit from a *Scotch* Noble Man, *viz.* the Earl of *Nitſdale*, who after ſome private diſcourſe

courſe with him, aſſured him that the King would be reſtored within the compaſs of a very few months, without the ſhedding of one drop of Bloud, or the hazard of a cut Finger in the accompliſhment thereof; and that he lookt upon him as the principle Inſtrument, by whoſe Wiſdom and Conduct it was to be effected; which prophettick diſcourſe contributed very much toward his encouragment, to puſh the buſineſs forward with the greater earneſtneſs and ſpeed.

Mr. *Monk* being ſafely arrived at *London*, repaired privately to Sir *John Greenvile*, and gave him an account that he had delivered his meſſage to the General and imparted it to none elſe except his Chaplain only, but told him as to the ſucceſs of it, he could give him no account, being under an Oath of ſecreſie. However Sir *John* thought that was ſufficient, and therefore immediately acquainted the King with it, who was ſo well ſatisfied therewith, that he ordered him to wait an opportunity as ſoon as poſſible, to treat perſonally with him, which he did not long after, and received a more full and ſatisfactory account from him how

how, and in what manner he intended to proceed therein. And for the discharging of this new Embassy to the Rump, he repaired to Dr. *Clergies*, who was Brother in Law to him and the General, and Agent for the *Scotch* and *Irish* Armies, to whom he was ordered by the General to impart his message, to be delivered by him to the Parliament, wherewith they were so highly pleased, that out of a Sence of the Generals supposed Fidelity, and to require his offered kindness, (they made as it were an expiring vote of revenge, when they saw they must be forced to yield to *Lamberts* ambition, and have their usurpt Authority suffer a second Rape) wherein they constituted him about the seventh part of a Generalissimo, which fell out very happily for the promoting his great and generous design; for it was by Virtue of that power that he seemed afterwards to act and give forth Commissions.

And having received on the *7th* of *October* the certain news that *Lambert* had by the assistance of the Army, once more unhoused the Rump, he publickly protested that he would not endure that unjust and arbitrary proceding, and

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was resolved therefore to reduce the Military power to the obedience of the Civil; and in order thereunto presently entred the Stage against *Lambert* and his Armies proceedings, (dispatching away the trusty adjutant *Jeremy Smith*, who was afterwards Knighted for his Fidelity) that afternoon to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, to secure those places, and under the march of such Troops of Horse on whose Captains he could most rely; and having stopt the Packquet, which should have gone that Night for *England*, he followed him the next day to *Edenburgh*, where he reformed his Army, making Captain *Morgan* Lieftenant Collonel, and Captain *Nichols* Major of his own Regiment, and the next day sent a party of Horse, commanded by Captain *Johnson*, to secure *Barwick*, which he knew to be a place of great importance to his new designs; which was done in the very nick of time, for the Governour had no sooner clapt up his dissenting Officers, according to the Generals directions, but Collonel *Cobbit* entred the Town, with instructions and Authority to assert and defend their Interest, who being brought by *Johnson* to the General, he sent him Prisoner

Priſoner to *Edenburgh* Caſtle; and having aſſured the Soldiers to him, he diſpatched three Letters into *England*, directed to *Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Lenthal*, wherein he acquainted them with his reſolution, to reſtore theſe Kingdoms to the free exerciſe of their Laws and Liberties; which expreſſion had more included than was expreſt in it, which was well enough underſtood by the Lord *Fairfax* aud ſome others, who were privy to the deſign.

Theſe Letters gave ſome intimation of hope to the Rump, that they ſhould be a ſecond time reſtored to their Authority, and infinitely ſurpriſed *Lambert* and the other Grandees of the Army, who did not expect to meet with any ſuch oppoſition, believing it diverſly oppoſite to the intereſt of the Army in general, for any one part of it to be divided againſt, and oppoſe the proceedings of the reſt; and that although there ſhould be any amongſt the Souldiers who ſhould love their Country better then their pay, and that *Monk* ſhould undertake to back them; yet they were aſſured by ſome of his Officers, who were then at *London*, that his intereſt was too

too weak in *Scotland*, to make head againſt them, however to make all ſure, they ſent Dr. *Clergies* and Collonel *Talbut* to him, whom they intreated and conjured to uſe their utmoſt endeavors to allay thoſe ſuddain heats of his, which they affirmed had been kindled by ſome unhappy miſtakes of their proceedings; and aſſure him that he and his army ſhould ſuddainly receive a ſatisfactory account about them. But that attempt ſignified little, for *Talbut* could not perſwade him of the ſincerity of *Lamberts* Friendſhip, nor the reallity of his offered advantages; and *Clergies* did but prevaricate with them that ſent him, and informed the General of the true ſtate and condition of the *Engliſh* Army, who had but little Money, and no means left of raiſing more, when that was ſpent, in regard the Rump, who ſaw their doom haſtning, had before they were turned out by *Lambert*, voted it high Treaſon, to raiſe money out of Parliament, thereby covering their ſpite and revenge, with the ſhadow of a pretended tenderneſs for their Countrys freedom. Theſe were ſoon after followed by Captain *Dean*, Treaſurer to the *Engliſh* Army, who

who was ſent by *Fleetwood* as a ſpecial meſſenger of his own, with a very kind letter to the General, and an offer of what preferment in the Army he would pleaſe to accept of, if he would concur with them, which he refuſed. This meſſenger in his paſſage into *Scotland*, diſperſed divers papers, where he endeavoured to ſeduce *Monk*'s Soldiers, by accuſing their General of a deſign to bring in *Charles Stuart* upon them, by his dividing the Army, and told the General to his Face, as he ſat at dinner with him, that *Charles Stuart* was at the bottom of his deſign, upon which Dr. *Price* replyed, no Mr. Treaſurer, it is you that will bring him in, for by your late actions you have more then juſtified the late King, who demanded only the Members of the Houſe of Commons, but ye have diſſolved a Parliament. And paſſing by one morning, as a Company of Foot was drawing up, he told them them that Lord *Lambert* was coming upon them, and that all *Monks* Army would ſuffice him for a Breakfaſt; to which he received as blunt an anſwer, That *Lambert* had certainly a very good Stomack, if he could eat Pikes and ſwallow Bullets. *Lam-*

Lambert who waited not for the return of the meſſenger, but advanced preſently towards the *North*, met with *Monks* Commiſſioners at *York*, and would have ſpared a farther Journey, by aſſuring them that he had power from the Committee of ſafety, and the general Councel of Officers, to treat and conclude with them; but they reſiſting upon the reſtauration of the Parliament to their former power, they were diſmiſt, and ſo paſt forward to *London*, whereupon Major General *Morgan*, who was ſecretly a well wiſher to *Monks* deſigns but openly profeſt a diſlike of them, told *Lambert*; if he would ſend him into *Scotland*, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to gain the General for him; which offer he gladly accepted of, in hope that he would either by his friendſhip with *Monk*, create a better underſtanding between them, or by his power and intereſt draw off a part of the *Scotch* Army for himſelf, which he could have eaſily done, had his diſlike of the Generals declarations againſt the Armies proceedings, been as real as it was feigned, his command there being next to *Monks*.

Morgan

Morgan being arrived in *Scotland*, had the meſſage ſlighted, but his Perſon joyfully received of the General, who much wanted him, and ſoon employed him in the moſt difficult ſervice that yet remained unattempted, which was the reforming of his Horſe, diſmounting diſſaffected Troopers, and ſetting divers Foot Soldiers, of whoſe Fidelity they were well aſſured, on Horſeback. In the performance whereof, ſome prevented their being unhorſt, by running from their Colours, and others by conveying them over to the Enemy. So that having now prepared all things in readineſs, he ordered ſeveral of his Troops to march toward the South of *Scotland*, intending to follow them himſelf with the Body of his Army.

But before he left *Edenburgh*, he called a Convention of the Nobility and Burghers, and laid before them the ground of his quarrel, requiring their peaceable deportment, during his abſence, and the payment of what they were in arrear to him for his Army, which they readily conſented to, and appointed ſome of their number afterwards to wait upon him at *Barwick*, to

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desire him to furnish them with Arms, whereby they might be in a capacity to assist him in opposing *Lamberts* invasion, which seemed equally to threaten both him and them; but he wisely declined that request, and yet thinking it not safe to send them away discontented, granted them some things which might contribute toward a publick peace without prejudice to his designs.

When he was got as far as *Haddington*, he received information that his Commissioners, somewhat exceeding the limits of their Commissions, had concluded a treaty with the Officers at *London*, upon conditions very unwelcom and displeasing to him: The two chief whereof was, that the Kings Title should be renounced, and a convention of Officers on both sides to meet by compact at *New-castle*, to settle the Army, and advise about the modelling of a new Government; whereupon he immediately posted back to *Edenburgh* to consult with his Counsellors, and the Officers of his Army, and require their sence about that agreement; the result whereof was, that they should refuse to ratifie that agreement, and demand a new treaty, upon pretence

that ſome of thoſe Articles required a farther explanation; which being once known in *London*, the Members of the Rump began to take heart again, and meet in ſecret Caballs, to continue their own Reſtitution, in regard the General had engaged with mighty proteſtations to adhere to them; ſo that the Committee of ſafety perceiving themſelves in a very unſafe and deſolate condition; did with great ſubmiſſion ſend for *Lenthal* the Speaker, and deſire him with the reſt of the Members to return to the exerciſe of their truſt, which they willingly accepted of. The news whereof reaching *Lambert* at *New-caſtle*, he privately ſlipt away from his Soldiers, and abſconded himſelf; Colonel *Wetham* Governour of *Portſmouth* having as well in reſpect to the General, as the Rump opened the Gates of the Town to *Hazelrick*, *Morley* and *Walton*; three of the ſeven Commiſſioners appointed by them for governing the Army. And the Fleet under *Lawſon*, and the Forces in *Ireland* having likewiſe declared for them, and had the recovery of their power congratulated, and promiſes of defending it to the utmoſt of his power

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made by *Monk*, who having thus reſtored them, they deſired ſpeedily to march for *London*, foreſeeing that he was otherwiſe reſolved to come without bidding; whereupon he advanced toward them, and was in his way thither bravely entertained by the Lord *Fairfax* and ſeveral others, and at *Morpeth* received a Letter from the Lord Mayor and common Councel of *London* ſent by their Sword-Bearer, to which he returned a pleaſing though doubtful anſwer.

But notwithſtanding all his ſolemn proteſtations of adhering to the Parliaments intereſt, and the many complements he had thereupon received from them, yet they were not well ſatisfied in the reality of his Intentions, ſuſpecting ſtill that there was ſomething elſe at the bottom of his undertaking, and therefore ſent *Scot* and *Robinſon* to meet him at *Harbrough*, that under pretence of congratulating with him, for the good ſucceſs God had given to his endeavours; they might the better prie into his Actions, and diſcover ſomewhat if poſſible, of his future intentions, putting forth a declaration at the ſame time, for the better ſetling them-

ſelves in the Favour of the People, wherein they promiſed to perfect what they had begun, for the ſetling of the Nation. But they being now too long uſed to their fair pretences, would be deluded by them no longer, but ſeeing they fell to their old tyrannies, under a pretence of reſtoring them to their loſt liberties; began to rouſe up themſelves, and ſhew their univerſal hatred and deteſtation of their wicked and arbitrary proceedings, by a general application to *Monk*, whom they looked upon as a perſon of a more free and *Engliſh* Spirit, beſeeching him in divers addreſſes, which were preſented to him in almoſt all the Towns he paſt through, to aſſert their liberties, either by procuring a full and free Parliament, or elſe the Reſtauration of the ſecluded Members of that which was then ſitting, and promiſing to ſtand by him in the maintenance and defence of their freedom.

Being come to St. *Albans*, which was his laſt Stage, he ſent Collonel *Lidcot* without conſulting *Scot* and *Robinſon* (who had all along upon the Road, taken upon them to give anſwers

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to the addreſſes preſented to him, and for the better obſerving his actions, and prying into his affairs, lodged in the ſame Inn with him) to the Speaker, to deſire that the Regiments who attended as Guards to the Parliament, might be diſtributed into Country Quarters, to make way for his coming to *London*; which was not without ſome difficulty obtained, although he had hitherto carried himſelf with ſo much evenneſs, that he had given them no reaſon to diſtruſt him; and the whole Army, with which he was to enter the Town, was ſomewhat inferior in number, to that which was to march out, and leave their quarters to him: He entred the Town at *Grayes Inn-Lane*, the Bells ringing every where for Joy, and as he paſt through *Chancery Lane*, he ſtopt at the Rolls, before the Speakers Door, who being not returned from the Houſe, he marcht forward toward *White Hall*, where his quarters were appointed to be, and meeting the Speaker in the *Strand*, he allighted and complemented him after the Soldiers Faſhion. But before he had bin two days at his quarters, which were

the Princes Lodgings, he was entertained with a ſecret information that a Son of *Secretary Scot*, who lodged at the Houſe of one *Sturdy* in *Ruſſel-Sreet*, had upon diſcovery about the General, aſſured him that his power of commanding the Army ſhould be taken from him within a few days, and that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower, and queſtioned for his Life; the only fact whereof was, to make him the more circumſpect and careful.

The next day he went to wait upon the Houſe, and received their Solemn thanks by their Speaker, for the great ſervice he had done in reſtoring of them, but becauſe he took upon him to mind them of ſome thing, which he judged to be for the publick good, and acquaint them with the Addreſſes he received in every place, on his way towards *London* for a free Parliament, or the Re-admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, they Reflected upon him, as if he endeavoured to impoſe his own ſence upon the parliament; but however they eaſily paſſed it over, and ſeemed to be content, to impute it rather to his affection to their ſervice, than his diſtaſte of their proceedings,

dings, and made him one of their Councel of State, who was to order and dispose of all their publick affairs; but before he was to take his place amongst them, he was to have, as well as the rest, an Oath imposed upon him, to abjure the Royal Family; but that being absolutely contrary to the Noble and Generous Designs of that brave Patriot of the Royal Cause, and bold Adventurer for the interest of his injured Soveraign; he opposed it as a thing altogether unreasonable, and by his influence upon Collonel *Morley* procured it to be so warmly debated, that it fell to the ground, and came to nothing.

The General resolving now to draw his business toward a conclusion, offered himself to *Scot*, who had several times complained to him of the malignity of the City of *London*, to abate their pride, and curb their insolency, as he termed it; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of that City, having by a publick Vote declared, that they would pay no more Taxes and Contributions, till the Parliament was filled up with equal Representatives of the People. A few popular tumults from thence, had formely

given the Government ſome diſturbances; but now the whole City encouraged by their hopes and expectations from *Monk*, rebelled againſt their power, and *Scot* who was his greateſt Enemy, and had plotted his ruine, not being able to fadom the depth of his deſign in that offer, and hoping at once to ruine both him and the City, prevailed with a Parliament to ſend him thither, as well to bring the Citizens into ſubjection, as to create a hatred and jealouſie between him and the General, by his executing that odious and deteſtable work, wherein they deſigned to employ him; wherefore being on Tuſeday night detained at the Conncil of State till two in the Morning; he there received orders to march the next morning into the City, to execute what was there reſolved on, which although contrary to his quiet and peaceable diſpoſition, yet having a direct tendency to promote his great deſign, he willingly undertook it; and therefore in ſeeming obedience to their commands, early in the Morning marcht his Army into the City, and having ceaſed on divers of their Common Council and others

others who had rendred themselves obnoxious to the Rump, and sent them to the Tower; he commanded his Soldiers to dig up their posts, and break down their Gates and Port-Cullies, which the amazed Citizens, who flockt about him, supposing it had been done to gratifie the Rump, durst not complain of, but with sighs and nods only, bid an eternal farewel to their departing Liberty, as they supposed. And that the men at *Westminster* might the better curb him, when they had thus made use of him to curb the City, they past a bill for the Army to be governed by five Commissioners, viz. *Monk*, *Hazelrick*, *Morley*, *Walton* and *Allured*, three whereof were to be a *Quorum*.

Having thus performed the Task imposed on him in the City, he returned again to *White-Hall*, notwithstanding he was to have stayed for farder order from the Rump, who had more business for him to have done there, and took it ill that he tarried not till he had performed it; wherefore having assured the Tower

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by means of Coll. *Morley*, who was then Lieutenant of it, and had offered to give him the poſſeſſion thereof; he ſent a Letter to the Rump, firſt ſubſcribed by himſelf, and then by all the Officers of his Army in their order, the tenour whereof was very peremptory, commanding them that they ſhould by the Friday following ſend forth Writs, to fill up all the vacant places in the Houſe, and when that was done, fix a time to terminate their own ſitting, and give place to another Parliament to ſucced them. *Cromwel* had outwitted and unhouſed them by a power at firſt derived from them; but *Monk* forced them to unhouſe themſelves, and become their own executioners. And compelled them, by paſſing an Act for their own diſſolution, and the calling a new Parliament: He ſet the firſt conſiderable, and the moſt diſcernable ſtep toward the recalling their baniſhed Soveraign, whom they had for ſo many Years unjuſtly excluded from his Throne. The Letter was ſent by two Collonels, *Coleberry* and *Lidcot*; but the General without ſtaying for an Anſwer, immediately put himſelf into

to the Head of his Army, and marcht away into *Finsbury* Fields, requiring the Mayor to provide him quarters for his Soldiers within the City, who knowing not the Breach between Him and the Parliament, was ſomewhat aſtoniſht with the meſſage, but being ſoon informed of the end of his coming, by ſome Citizens, who had learnt that news ſooner than himſelf, he gladly complyed wirh that demand, and invited him to dinner at *Guild-Hall*, where, in the afternoon were ſuch a conference held between him and the Mayor and Aldermen, that when he entred toward the evening, at the head of his Army, he was welcomed by the Citizens as the Reſtorer of his Countrys Freedom, with ringing of Bells, the blazing of Bonefires, and the diſtributing of Wine, and Money among his Soldiers; the loud Shouts and Acclamations of the People, diſcovering their publick joy, and the Fume of roaſted Rumps, which were burnt in every Bonefire, prognoſticating the downfall of their Legiſlative power.

The

The men at *Weſtminſter* having cloſely debated on the Letter ſent them by *Monk*, thought it wiſdom to diſſemble the indignation they conceived for that Affront, and gave him thanks for his joynt care with them, for the good of the Common-Wealth; and to content him if poſſible, ordered a Committee to conſider what Lands were fitting to be conferred upon him; iſſuing out a Proclamation likewiſe againſt *Lambert*, wherein he was required to ſurrender himſelf within forty days on forfeiture of his Eſtate; and promiſing with all imaginable Speed to ſend out Writs for a new Parliament; but reſolved to tye up their hands by previous engagements againſt the King, the Houſe of Lords, and whatſoever elſe they thought might prove injurious to them. And the Council of State invited him afreſh to take his place amongſt them, urging that the neceſſity of affairs required his preſence there, and employing ſuch means as they thought had the greateſt influence upon him, to perſwade him to comply therewith: Nor did he at firſt abſolutely deny their requeſt, but only denied the performance

performance thereof, that ſo he might keep them in ſuſpence, the better to fix his Army, and prepare them heartily to engage in his new deſigns, which he thought could not be brought in one day to part with all their former Principles and Prejudices. But although they ſtill courted his return, yet fearing that he had deſigned nothing leſs, they began to court thoſe who who had formerly appeared againſt them, and employed their adgitators in that Army; which was by *Monks* ſucceſsful Artifice, diſperſed into divers parts of the Country, to whiſper his Treaſon againſt the Parliament, and his deſign to bring in *Charles Stuart*. *Halzerick* was taxt by the General as the principle Author of that device; but he denyed it, and durſt not adventure to Randeſvouz his Country Army againſt *Monks* City Forces. And the preſſes in the mean time were not idle, but produced many infamous Libels againſt the King, wherein he was impudently abuſed, and charged with many unjuſt Falſities, thereby to prevent the Peoples entertaining any deſires of his Reſtauration, but all would not

not do, the Country being now too ſenſible of the groſs abuſes and cheats that had been been put upon the Nation by ſuch kind of Articles.

But however the General being willing to overcome them by Argument, as well as force, eaſily conſenſented to a propoſition preſented by the Rump; that ſome of them might meet a like number of the ſecluded Members, and argue the buſineſs in his preſence; which they did at Alderman *Whale*'s his Houſe, which was then his Head Quarters; and they having nothing to alledge againſt the Re-admiſſion (beſides their love of Power) but their own ſafety, the ſale of publick Lands, and ſuch like things, which they feared would be diſturbed by their introduction. But the ſecluded Members having ſufficiently anſwered theſe objections, by proteſting that they would diſturb the properties and pretences of no Man, but amicably ſit, and act for the good of their Country, till by their diſſolution they had made way for another Parliament. And the General

General being fully ſatisfied in the juſtneſs of their Cauſe, left the City, and returned again to *White-Hall*, where thoſe of the ſecluded Members, who were then in Town, reſorted to him, and after a ſhort Speech made by him, were conducted to *Weſtminſter*, where they took their former places in the Houſe of Commons; ſome of the ſitting Members, immediately upon their entrance, riſing up, and departing in diſcontent, crying out, *Monk* had betrayed them.

The General having now forced the Rump to admit the ſecluded Members, which had been ever ſince forty eight forceably kept out of the Houſe; they were no ſooner ſeated therein, but they immediately applied themſelves to ſuch kind of work, as plainly diſcovered to all Intelligent and diſcerning Men, where thoſe things, which were then tranſacting, would terminate; for they preſently enlarged *Monks* Commiſſion, making him General of all their Land Forces, and conſtituted him joint General at Sea with *Monntague*, diſcharged Sir *George Booth*, and others Committed

on

on account of his rising, ordering the examination of him and his Lady to be taken off the File and given to them; and released all such as had been Imprisoned for Petitioning for a free Parliament, together with the Members of the Common Councel of *London.* And then having appointed a free Parliament to meet in the *April* following, they Dissolved themselves, appointing a Council of State to govern in the mean while, which consisted for the most part of Honest and Loyal Gentlemen, viz. *Arthur Annesly* Lord President, *Peirpoint*, *Crew*, *Knightly*, *Popham*, *Morley*, *Cooper*, *Gerrard*, *St. John*, *Widrington*, *Evelin*, *Waller*, *Onslow*, *Maynard*, *Lewis*, *Mountague*, *Handly*, *Norton*, *Hollis*, *Temple*, *Tomson*, *Trevers*, *Holland*, *Poltis*, *Birch*, *Grimston*, *Swinton*, *Weaver*, *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and the Lord General, which Council was so influenced by the General, that all their Proposals ran directly towards, and naturally tended to swell the Royal Stream, and make Soveraignty, which had suffered so long and fatal an Ebb, flow with that irresistable, but yet innocent and harmless force, that like a swelling Sea, it bore down all before it.

But

But Sir *John Grinvile* being (in regard he was a known Cavalier,) unable to procure any private conference with *Monk*, who was ſo extraordinary wary and cautious, that when Sr. *John* had ſpun out his Viſit to an extraordinary length, in expectation of the Room being clear, by the breaking up of the Company, yet then knowing the reaſon of his long Attendance, he would immediately riſe up from his Chair, and ſay, Good night, Couzen, 'tis late; or by ſome ſuch like pretence, excuſe himſelf, and leave the Room. He was not able to give the King any farther account of the General's Intentions, and therefore growing impatient of ſo many delays, he bethought himſelf at laſt of making his Application to Mr. *Morrice*, one of the ſecluded Members, who was ſomewhat related to the General; and had a more than ordinary Intimacy with him, that ſo he might by his Mediation obtain the favour to diſcourſe a little with him in private, concerning ſomething of great importance to him and the Nation. *Morrice* was eaſily prevail'd upon to undertake the buſineſs, and immediately repaired to the General, and acquainted him with *Greenvil*'s deſire; but he ſtill

refuſed to have any ſecret converſe with him, for fear notice ſhould be taken of it; yet ordered *Morrice* to wait upon him, and try if he could inform himſelf of the nature and quality of the buſineſs, giving him leave to aſſure him, that he was authorized by him to receive his Meſſage, how weighty and ſecret ſoever it might be, and promiſe to return the Generals ſpeedy Anſwer thereunto. But *Greevile* reſolving to treat with none but himſelf, refuſed the Propoſal, without giving him the leaſt intimation of his buſineſs, telling him, that it concerned none but the General himſelf, and that ſo nearly, that it would admit of no longer delay. And if he ſtill perſiſted in an obſtinate refuſing to admit him a private Conference, he muſt then be neceſſitated to acquaint him with it, wherever he met with him. Upon the Report whereof by *Morrice*, he was infinitely pleaſed, and therefore ordered *Morrice* to give him notice, that he would meet him at his Chamber ſometime in the Evening of the next day. *Greenvile*, according to appointment, repaired to *Morrice*'s Chamber, whither the General, upon intimation of his being there, came likewiſe ſoon after. To whom,

whom, after ſome Complements, *Greenvile* declared, that he looked upon himſelf as infinitely obliged to his Excellency for giving him that opportunity of diſcharging himſelf of a Truſt of great importance in relation to the King, the General, and the whole Kingdom, which had been long depoſited in his hands by his Soveraign, adding, that he thought himſelf more happy in having that good occaſion of performing his duty, in obeying the Commands and promoting the Intereſt of his Soveraign, than in any occurrence of his whole Life; preſenting him at the ſame time with a Letter directed to him from the King, and producing another ſent to himſelf, together with a Commiſſion which he had received from the King to treat with him about the buſineſs of his Reſtauration. Whereupon the General ſuddenly ſtepped back, and holding the Paper in his hand, with a kind of a forced frown, haſtily demanded of him how he durſt mention a thing of that nature to him, without conſidering the danger he thereby run himſelf upon? *Greenvile* replied, He had long ſince conſidered that matter, and duly

weighed the danger which attended an attempt of that nature; but the hazard, though great, was not ſufficient to deter him from the performance of his duty. And that he was the more encouraged to adventure, by the Meſſage which he was pleaſed to ſend him by his Brother, before he left *Scotland*. Upon the mention thereof, without making any reply, he preſently approached towards him with a more pleaſing aſpect, and embracing him in his Arms, ſaid, Dear Couzen, I return you my hearty thanks for the Prudence, Fidelity, Care and Conſtancy wherewith you have managed this great Affair, and your reſolute Secrecy therein. For, could I have informed my ſelf, that you had ever revealed it to any perſon living, ſince you firſt acquainted my Brother therewith, I would never have conſented to treat with you about it, which now I ſhall moſt willingly do, and with you, rather than any other, in regard you are ſo nearly related to me, and I have received ſo many obligations both from you and your Family. And then, having read the King's Letter, and the Commiſſion, he added, that he

he hoped the King would forgive what was paſt, according to the Contents of his gracious Letter, aſſuring him, that his heart was ever faithful to him, although he had never been in a condition to ſerve him until then, deſiring Sir *John*, that he would in his name aſſure His Majeſty, that he was now not only ready to obey his Commands, but to ſacrifice his Life and Fortune in his Service, calling *Morrice*, who ſtood without as Door-keeper, to bear witneſs of that his ſolemn Proteſtation. Sir *John* deſired him to ſend ſome Confident of his own to the King, to treat and adviſe with him what was fit to be done for the better carrying on their Deſign; to which he eaſily conſented, but told him, that that Confident muſt be himſelf, for he would not, as yet, adventure to ſend any Letters to the King, for fear of the worſt. And that, without them, the King had no reaſon to give any Credit to a Meſſenger ſent from him, but might very well believe one whom himſelf had employed; wherefore at the next Conference he received Inſtructions, with a Charge not to commit them to Writing, till he came

to the King at *Bruſsels*, and there to communicate them to none but himſelf.

Greenvile managed this Negotiation with ſuch Secrecy, and his Journey to *Bruſsels* was ſo ſpeedy and fortunate, that few knew of it before his arrival there; and thoſe who did, nay, that went in company with him thither, had not ſo much as the leaſt ſuſpicion what Errand it was he went on. The King having intimation of his Arrival, went privately to his Lodgings, to whom *Greenvile* related the Inſtructions he had received from *Monk*, which were readily believed, although he brought nothing under the General's hand. The News whereof was very acceptable, and highly welcom to the King, whoſe joy upon that account was ſo much the greater, becauſe the General required no Conditions of Reſtraint to his Royal Power, and had left the Reward of his Service wholly to his goodneſs, as appeared by what himſelf declared to *Greenvile*, upon the receipt of a Letter ſent him by ſome of his Friends in *England*, to acquaint him with the great

Service

Service they had done His Majesty in prevailing with *Monk*, (notwithstanding his being so absolute a Common-wealths-man, they knowing nothing of his being pre-engaged by the King,) not to oppose his Return upon his Fathers Concessions in the *Isle of Wight*; which Terms, though hard, and consented to by his Father only in consideration of his necessity, yet they besought His Majesty not to think hard of them now, lest his refusal might exclude him longer from the Crown.

Little do they think in *England*, said the King, that the General and I are upon so good Terms; and the truth is, I could hardly believe it my self, until your Arrival with the happy News. The General's resolution to restore me to my Crown and Kingdom, without Conditions, beyond our expectations here, or the belief of all our Friends in *England*, except your self, who was employed in it.

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Reward, affirming, that he took more content in doing His Majesty and his Country Service, than in the expectation of greatness, pressed *Greenvile* to know what he should do for himself. But he, according to the General's Example, nobly refused all Proposals of Reward for that Service, in which he had been so eminently successful, till he should have the happiness to see him at his Palace of *Whitehall*. But the King resolving nor to send him back without a mark of his Royal Favour, secretly put into his Pocket a Warrant under his Hand and Seal, for an *English* Earldom; and the assurance of three thousand pounds *per Annum*, to be settled upon him and his Heirs for ever, to support that Honour, with a promise moreover, to pay those Debts which either he or his Father had contracted, by engaging themselves in the Royal Cause.

The King, upon his receiving this Message from *Monk*, consulted with Sir *Edward Hide*, whom he had then nominated for the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Ormond*, Secretary *Nichols*, and some others of his Confidents, *Greenvile* likewise being present, what

what return he ſhould make thereunto. In which Privy Council there was a Commiſſion drawn up and ſigned by the King, for the conſtituting *Monk* Captain General of all his Land-Forces in the three Kingdoms, and Publick Diſpatches framed and ſigned according to thoſe Directions *Greenvile* had brought from him. But the King, not thinking that place convenient for the Treaty, removed with great ſpeed and privacy to *Breda*, a Town belonging to his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, being complemented at his departure from *Flanders* by the *Spaniſh* Governour, and honourably conveyed on his way way as far as *Antwerp*, from whence his Publick Diſpatches into *England* were dated. *Greenvile*, upon his return, beſides the Generals Commiſſion to be Captain General of all the Forces then raiſed, or to be raiſed, brought him the King's Seals and Signet, by which he was empowered to make a Secretary of State, which Honour he conferred upon *Morrice*, who was after the King's return Knighted, and confirmed therein, in conſideration of the Service he had done in introducing *Greenvile* to the

General's

General's preſence. And beſides thoſe Publick Letters, which he was to reſerve to be communicated in due time, he brought a Private one, directed to the General himſelf, written with the King's own Hand, to which he returned an Anſwer by Mr. *Bernard Greenvile*, in regard his Brother could not then be ſpared, the Parliament being juſt ready to ſit, when he was to preſent to both the Houſes the King's Letters and Declaration; which Anſwer was very welcom to the King, for that it brought him an aſſurance under the General's own Hand, of his Reſolution to adhere to him againſt all oppoſition whatſoever.

About this time *Lambert* made his eſcape from the *Tower*, and endeavoured to make Parties, and draw Forces together, to oppoſe his Loyal and Generous Deſigns, which he being informed of, acquainted the Council of State therewith, and managed the buſineſs with ſo great Prudence, that timely care was taken to ſuppreſs him, and that Attempt, which in it ſelf threatned the contrary, was made by his Wiſdom to advance the King's Intereſt, and haſten his happy Reſtau-

Reſtauration. For Coll. *Ingoldsby* being ſent againſt him and his Forces, which he had got together, forſaking him upon the Collonels approach, he betook himſelf to flight, but being upon plowed Land, his Horſe failed him; and notwithſtanding he had by his valour in many former Battels obtained the name of Stout, he preſently yielded himſelf, without drawing his Sword, or making any other Defence, than only crying out twice, Pray my Lord, let me eſcape; for what good will my Life or perpetual Impriſonment do you?

The time being now come for the meeting of a new Parliament, both Houſes repaired to St. *Margarets* Church, where Dr. *Reynolds* preached before them, and after Sermon they repaired to their Houſes: The Lords making choice of the Earl of *Mancheſter* for their Speaker: And the Commons of Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*. And having ſettled their Committees, and thereby prepared for their entrance upon buſineſs, adjourned for ſome few days; in the interim whereof *Greenvile* conſulted with the General, at what time, and in what manner he ſhould deliver his Meſſages from

from the King to the ſeveral parties to whom they were directed. That which was ſuperſcribed to the General himſelf, to be communicated by him to the Army and Council of State, he thought fit to have delivered to him at the Door of the Council Chamber. In order whereunto *Greenvile* repaired thither, when the Council were ſitting, and told Coll. *Birch*, who was one of the Members, that he deſired to ſpeak with the General; who upon *Birch*'s Intimation came to the Door; and in the view of his Guards, who attended there, received the Letters from *Greenvile*, without ſhewing any other reſpect either to his Perſon, or his Buſineſs, than only demanding of him if he would ſtay for an Anſwer, and telling him, otherwiſe his Guards ſhould ſecure him. And having commanded them to look to him, went in to the Council, and communicated to them the Letters; whereupon *Birch* being examined whether he knew any thing of the matter,& proteſting he was altogether ignorant both of the Gentleman, and his Buſineſs, *Greenvile* was ſent for in, and examined by the Preſident, from whence thoſe Letters came, whoſe they were, and how he came by them,

hem, (for they had not yet proceeded to pen and read them,) he anſwered, that he King His Maſter gave them to him with his own Hand at *Breda*. Having hereby informed themſelves whence he Letters came, they deferred the opening of them until the Parliament ſate gain, and would have committed *Greenville*, had not the General told them, that e knew him very well, and would answer for his appearance before the Parliament; which were no ſooner ſate, t he delivered his Letters, with inclod Declarations to both Houſes, where the King expreſſed abundance of mpaſſion and tenderneſs to the Nation, which had been ſo long haraſſed a bloody and unnatural War, and proiſed a free and general Pardon to all, no ſhould in forty days after the pubation thereof, lay hold upon that Grace, leſs ſuch whom the Parliament ſhould ink fit to be excepted from the benefit ereof. And that he would preſerve em to the uttermoſt of his power, e from all manner of Injuries in their ves and Eſtates, and grant Liberty for nder Conſciences, for ſuch as diſſented om the Eſtabliſhed Religion, provided ey did not diſturb the Peace of the Nation.

tion. That as to Sales and Purchaſes, h
would refer himſelf in all matters to t
Determinations of Parliament, and co
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the Arrears of the Army and Navy
which ſhould thenceforward be receiv
into his Service, upon as good Pay a
Conditions as they then enjoyed. T
like Letters and Declarations being a
ſent by the King, and delivered to Ge
ral *Montague*, to be by him communi
ted to the Fleet, and to the Lord May
and Common Council of *London*.

The King's Letters and Declarat
were received by the Parliament w
ſuch an extraordinary Joy and Ven
tion, that I want words wherewith
expreſs it; for, as if ſome ſtrange a
had ſuddenly ſeized upon their min
every man, at the Speaker's naming
King, roſe up, and uncovering himſ
deſired they might be immediately re
which was no ſooner done, but in an
taſie of joy, they ſuddenly drew the C
tain, and expoſed the beautiful and g
rious Scene to the open view of
longing Spectators, wherein every
might plainly behold the happy Iſſu
all thoſe various Tranſactions which

till then been Riddles too myſterious for vulgar underſtandings to unfold, or once imagine to what they tended, or where they would terminate. By the Houſe of Lords reſolving that they did own and declare, that, according to the Ancient and Fundamental Laws of *England*, the Government was, and ought to be by Kings; and that a Committee of eight Lords ſhould forthwith joyn with a Committee of the Commons to conſider of an Anſwer to the King's Letter and Declaration. And by the Houſe of Commons reſolving likewiſe to appoint a Committee to prepare an Anſwer to the King's Letter, and therein expreſs their great and joyful ſenſe of his gracious offers, and to return him their humble and hearty thanks for the ſame, and to aſſure him of their Loyalty and Duty. And that they would give him a ſpeedy Anſwer to his gracious Propoſals. Reſolving moreover, that the ſum of 50000 *l.* ſhould be preſented him from that Houſe, and 10000 *l.* to each of his Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glaceſter*. Which Reſolves were no ſooner reported in *London*, then the Citizens were extreamly tranſported with Joy. The harmony of Bells, and the flaming Piles,

which

which enlighted every Street, ſurrounded with incredible Shouts and Acclamations, being ſufficient demonſtrations of the infinite Pleaſure and Satisfaction which every one took, in that no leſs ſtrange than happy Revolution. And the ſeveral Countries taking Allarm from *London*, contended which ſhould outvy the other in expreſſions of Loyalty and Joy. And General *Mountague* having communicated to the Fleet the Letters he received from the King and the Duke of *York*, together with thoſe directed to the Parliament, they unanimouſly declared their Reſolution, to adhere to him, and to live and die in his defence, humbly deſiring the Generals to preſent the ſame to the King; whereupon *Mountague* himſelf immediately fired a Gun, crying, *God bleſs His Majeſty and the whole Fleet*. Thereupon preſently appeared in its pride and glory with Pendants looſe, Guns roaring, Caps flying, and *Vive le Roys* loudly ecchoing from one Ships Company to another, which were anſwered by the great Guns from *Dale* and *Sandwich* Caſtles; nor was this Joy confined to *England*, but ſpread it ſelf into *Scotland* and *Ireland* alſo.

And

And now the Parliament, longing for the King's preſence amongſt them, as the *Iſraelites* did for the return of King *David*, drew up a Letter in anſwer to that which they had receiv'd from him, ſuperſcribing it to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty; wherein they requeſted his ſpeedy return to the exerciſe of his Kingly Office, appointing Commiſſioners to go over to *Holland*, and attend him during his ſtay there, and in his Voyage for *England*. There being ſix appointed for the Houſe of Lords, and twelve for the Houſe of Commons, to which, upon the Requeſt of the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of *London*, was added twenty on the behalf of that City, who, having receiv'd their Inſtructions, ſet ſail for *Holland*, with ſeveral Frigots appointed by the Parliament to attend them; the whole Fleet being likewiſe committed to the King's pleaſure, the General whereof had Orders from the Parliament to obey ſuch Orders and Directions as he ſhould receive from His Majeſty.

The Commiſſioners, upon their arrival at *Breda*, delivered their reſpective Meſſages, with all imaginable reverence

and veneration, according to the Inſtructions they had received from their Principals, beſeeching His Majeſty, in the name of his Parliament and People, to return to his Inheritance, and re-aſſume his Crown and Scepter, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be infinitely welcome to them without any Tearms, which Invitation was gladly accepted, and the Commiſſioners were received by him with a Grace and Port like himſelf, and entertain'd with extraordinary Magnificence and Bounty.

The Parliament in the mean time proceeded to the Proclaiming of him, which was perform'd with all that Joy, Splendor and Magnificence, that their Loyalty could inſpire; the Lord General, attended by all the Peers, the moſt Eminent of the Commons, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with the Trained Bands of *London* aſſiſting at the Ceremony: The Proclamation being, as followeth, *viz.*

'Although it can no way be doubted, 'but that his Majeſties Right and Title 'to theſe Crowns and Kingdoms, is and 'was every way compleat by the Death 'of his Moſt Royal Father of Glorious 'Memory, without the Ceremony or So-

'lemnity

'lemnity of a Proclamation, yet ſince Pro-
'clamations in ſuch caſes have been always
'uſed, to the end that all good Subjects
'might upon this occaſion teſtify their
'Duty and Reſpect; and ſince the
'Armed violence and other Calamities
'of many years laſt paſt, have hitherto
'deprived us of any opportunity, where-
'in we might expreſs our Loyalty and
'Allegiance to his Majeſty: We there-
'fore the Lords and Commons now As-
'ſembled in Parliament, together with
'the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Com-
'mon-Council of the City of *London*,
'and other Freemen of this Kingdom
'now preſent, do according to our Du-
'ty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully
'and Unanimouſly acknowledge and
'Proclaim, that immediately upon the
'Deceaſe of our late Soveraign King
'*Charles* the Firſt, the Imperial Crown
'of the Realm of *England*, and all the
'Kingdoms, Dominions and Rights be-
'longing to the ſame, did by Inherent
'Birth-right, and Lawful undoubted
'Succeſſion, Deſcend and come to his
'Moſt Excellent Majeſty, King *Charles*
'the Second, as being Lineally, Juſtly
'and Lawfully, next Heir of the Blood
'Royal of this Realm. And that by the

'Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty 'God, he is of *England*, *Scotland* and 'Ireland, the Moſt Potent, Mighty and 'Undoubted King, and thereunto we 'Moſt Humbly and Faithfully do ſubmit 'and oblige our ſelves, our Heirs and 'Poſterities for ever.

At the reading whereof, the whole City rang with the Sound of *God Save, and God Bleſs* King *Charles* the *Second*; the Shouts and Acclamations of the crowding multitudes being ſo extraordinary, that although all the Bells throughout the City and Suburbs, were then Ringing, their Noiſe was not to be heard.

The King having now by his extraordinary Wiſdom and Conduct, thus happily contriv'd his return to his Crown and Kingdom, without the ſpilling of his Subjects Blood, and having brought his Affairs to their deſired Iſſue, prepared to leave *Holland*, and after ſo long and tedious an Exile, returned to his Haraſs'd and almoſt ruined Realms, being upon his departure, Splendidly Treated by the *Dutch* for a Fortnight together, with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable, and preſented with the Richeſt Bed and Furniture, together

with

with Tapeſtry for Hangings, Emboſſed with Gold and Silver, and adorned with Pictures, that could be procured, and Highly Complemented by all the Forreign Miniſters then Reſident there. For theſe Noble Entertainments, which together with the Preſent of the *Dutch*, about one hundred Thouſand Pounds, he gave the *States General* and thoſe of *Holland*, his Hearty Thanks in their Publick Aſſemblies, whither he went on Foot; and having taken his leave of them, and commended to them the intereſt of his Siſter, and his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, they delivered their ſence of the preſent circumſtance of Affairs, and declared the greatneſs of that joy they conceived for his Miraculous Reſtauration, in the following Speech.

'If one may judge of the content which 'we have to ſee your Majeſty depart from 'our Province, by the ſatisfaction we 'had to poſſeſs you, we ſhall have no 'great trouble to make it known to you; 'your Majeſty might have obſerved in 'the countenance of all our People, the 'Joy they had in their Hearts, to ſee 'a Prince cheriſhed of God, a Prince 'wholly miraculous, and a Prince that 'is probable to make a part of their

'quietneſs and felicity, your Majeſty
'ſhall ſee preſently all the Streets filled,
'all the ways covered, and all the Hills
'loaden with People, which will fol-
'low you even to the place of your Em-
'barquement, and would not leave you,
'if they had wherewith to paſs them to
'your Kingdom. Our Joy is common un-
'to us with that of our Subjects, but as
'we know better than they the ineſti-
'mable value of the Treaſure we poſſeſs,
'ſo we are more ſenſible of this ſad ſe-
'paration. It would be inſupportable to
'us, Sir, if we re-entred not into our
'ſelves, and conſider not that it is the
'thing of the World we moſt deſir'd,
'and the greateſt advantage alſo that we
'could wiſh to your Majeſty. We acqui-
'eſs therein, becauſe we know that this
'removal is no leſs neceſſary for us,
'than glorious to your Majeſty, and
'that 'tis not in your Kingdom, that we
'muſt find the accompliſhment of the
'Prayers we have made, and make ſtill
'for you and us, ſo ſhall we not fail to
'profit thence as well as from the aſſu-
'rances which it hath pleaſed you to give
'us of an immutable affection toward this
'Republique. We render moſt humble
'thanks to your Majeſty for them, and
particularly

'particularly for the illuſtrious proof
'which it hath pleaſed you to give us
'thereof, by the Glorious viſit where-
'with you honour'd our Aſſembly.
'We ſhall conſerve the memory of it
'moſt dearly, and make the marks of
'that goodneſs to paſs to our laſt Poſteri-
'ty, to the end they may acknowledge
'it with the ſame reſpect, with which we
'have received it. The appointment,
'wherein we ſee your Majeſty ready to
'take Horſe for the purſuit of your Jour-
'ney, forbids us to enlarge our ſelves up-
'on a ſubject which would never wea-
'ry us, if we had words conformable to
'our reſpectful ſentiments: but we have
'no mind to encreaſe the juſt impati-
'ence which your Majeſty ſhall have to
'ſee your ſelf return'd into your King-
'dom. We pray God, Sir, that it be qui-
'et and happy, and that as he hath diſ-
'poſed the Hearts and Affections of your
'Subjects to acknowledge their Sove-
'raign and Lawful Prince, it will pleaſe
'him alſo to command the Winds
'and Seas to expedite your Voyage; and
'that after you have arriv'd on your
'own Coaſt, the ſame Prayers which we
'ſhall reiterate, you may enjoy in your
'Royal Perſon, and in your Poſterity

'forever, all the Felicity and Proſperi-
'ty, which your Humble Servants ſhall
'wiſh unto your Majeſty.

Having now taken his leave of his Friends in *Holland*. He ſet forward towards *England*, in the midſt of his two Brothers the Dukes of *York* & *Glouceſter* on Horſeback, accompanied by Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, the Admiral of *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange*, and many Ladies of Quality in their Coaches, who attended him all the way to the place where he Embarqu'd, the Horſe and the Regiments of the Guards ſtanding in Battalia, and the thundering of the Cannon being anſwer'd with Peals of Muſick, conveyed the like mirth to the *Engliſh* Fleet, then riding at *Scheveling*, the amazed Inhabitants flocking from all the adjacent parts, and crowding to behold the unuſual ſight, whilſt others poſted themſelves more commodiouſly upon the Downs and Sand-Hills, from whence they might view the Fleet, ſee the King Embarquing, and pleaſe themſelves with beholding how he was Entertained by the General at his firſt going on Board the *Charles*, which had formerly been called the *Naſeby*, ſo that it was a difficult thing to determine, whether the Wonder

of

of the *Dutch*, or the Joy of the *Engliſh* exceeded: He was attendedby his *Aunt*, his Siſter, and ſome other Illuſtrious Perſons on Board in a Boat prepared for him by the States, whoſe Streamers and Flags had this impreſs, *Quo fas et fata*, alluding to, *Dieu et mon droit*; but upon the approach of a *Brigandine* ſent from General *Mountague* to receive him, he entred therein,and ſo went on Board the *Charles*, the Sea-men at his Entrance ſeeming to be in an extaſie, for their being now actually poſſeſs'd of their Beloved Prince. After he had been ſome little while Entertain'd by the General, he returned to the Poop, to view again, and take his laſt Farewel of thoſe almoſt innumerable multitudes that crowded on the Downs and Sand Hills of *Scheveling*, ſaying merrily that he thought his own Subjects could ſcarce have more tenderneſs and veneration for him,than thoſe Strangers, in whoſe Affections he believed he Reigned no leſs, than he was going to Reign in the Wills of the *Engliſh*. Much ado he had to part with the Princeſs of *Orange*, whom many other conſiderations beſides that of *Birch*, had rendreth moſt dear to him, till at laſt the General having all the KingsRetinue onShip-board, cauſed

cauſed the Anchors to be weighed, and the Sails to be ſpread, and then with Tears and Embraces ſhe left him, and Rowed back again with the ſame Company to the *Dutch* Shore, and there loſt ſight of her Brother and the Royal Fleet about the Evening.

No ſooner was the Fleet under Sail, but the Cannon began to roar, giving notice that the Lord of the Sea was in his Rightful Poſſeſſion, which thundering continued till Night. Next day they had little wind, but ſo much as on Friday Morning they came within ſight of *Dover*; whereupon an Expreſs was ſent to the General then at *Canterbury*, to haſten to *Dover*, which he did accordingly; and about One of the Clock with a gallant Train came thither: About three of the Clock in the Afternoon his Majeſty landed at the *Beach* near the Peer of *Dover*, with the Dukes and his Nobles. Every man now put themſelves into a poſture to obſerve the meeting of the beſt of Kings and the moſt deſerving of all the *Britiſh* Subjects, then the King dignified him with a *George*, which he put about his Necks with his own Hand, & the Garter was tyed on by the two Dukes: which Solemn and unexampled meeting,

did

did together with the joy thereof infuſe a kind of fear, leaſt the King and the General Congreſs ſhould fail in one part or other in affection or Ceremony ; but when they met, their Interview diſpenſed with all punctillio's, except the General, kneeling, and the Kings kiſſing and embracing of him, to the moſt pleaſing Satisfaction both of Nobility and people.

Theſe complements being over, he walkt upon foot with the General under a Canopy, a Chair of State being likewiſe carryed by his Coach-ſide. The Mayor and Aldermen of *Dover*, great numbers of Gentry, met him without the Town; and after a ſhort Speech preſented him a rich Bible with Gold Claſps. Yet he ſtay'd not long there, but took Coach for *Canterbury*; and when he was got about two Miles out of Town he left his Coach and Mounted on horſe-back, the Dukes riding on his Right hand, and the General on the left, Bare, followed by *Buckingham* and the reſt of the Nobility and Gentry, and uncovered. In which poſture they came to *Canterbury*, where he was met and complemented by the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder of that City, who having preſented

preſented him with a Gold Tankard, conducted him to the Pallace, where he ſtayed *Saturday* and *Sunday*, and departed early on *Munday* morning for *Rocheſter*. And arriving there early that afternoon went to *Chattam*, to ſee the *Soveraign* and other Ships of the Royal Navy, and returned again in the evening to his Lodgings, where he was welcomed by an Addreſs from *Gib.* his Regiment deliver'd to him by the Collonel himſelf, which was graciouſly accepted; and the next Morning being the 29th of *May*, which was his Birth-day, he ſet forward from *Rocheſter*, the *Militia* forces of *Kent* lining the wayes and the Maidens ſtrowing herbs and Flowers, and adorning the houſes through all the ſtreets he paſs'd. And being come to *Dartford*, the Officers of the Regiments of Horſe preſented him with an humble Addreſs, wherein they declared their readineſs to Sacrifice their Lives in defence of his perſon & Government: the Army being drawn up at *Black-Heath* he there took a view of them, and us'd many gracious expreſſions towards them, which were anſwered by them with loud and joyful Acclamations; and the ſeveral Regiments being placed in order, he advanced toward *London*,

London, and came about one of the Clock to St. *Georges Fields*, where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen who waited there in a Tent to receive him, delivered him their Sword, which he re-delivered, and Knighted Sir *Thomas Allen* who was then Mayor. After a ſhort repaſt, he proceeded into *London* through *Southwark*, and ſo from the *Bridge* to *Temple Barr*, the Streets being Railed on one ſide with ſtandings for the Liveries, and on the other with the Trained bands, through which he paſſed in a ſplendid and Triumphant manner to *White-hall*. A Troop of about 300 Gentlemen in Doublets of Cloth of Silver, led by Major General *Brown* marcht firſt, brandiſhing their Swords in token of Triumph, being follow'd by another of the like number in Velvet Coats, with their Foot-men and Lacquies, in Purple Liveries: then marcht the Troop led by Coll. *Robinſon* in Buff Coats with Cloth of Silver ſleeves and green Scarves, followed by another in blew Liveryes and Silver Lace, their Colours being Red fringed with Silver. Then marcht a Troop with ſix Trumpets and ſeven Foot-men before them in Sea-green and Silver, their Colours being pinck fringed with Silver; followed by

by another Troop whose Liveries were gray and blew, under the Earl of *Northampton*, having 30 Foot-men & Trumpets four, their Colours being Sky, with Silver fringed. Then marcht a Troop in Gray Liveries of about an hundred and five, led by the Lord *Goring*, having six Trumpets and Colours of Sky and Silver; followed by another of about Seventy. After these marcht a Troop of about three hundred Noble-men and Gentry led by *Cleveland*, followed by another of about one hundred with black Colours, and after them marcht a Troop of about three hundred Horse, led by the Lord *Mordant*.

These being all past, two Trumpets with his Majesties Arms advanced with the Sheriffs Men, being about Seventy-two in number, in red Cloaks and Silver-Lace, and carrying half Pikes. Then followed the Gentlemen that rode out of the several Companies of *London*, with their respective Streamers, in Velvet Coats and Gold Chains, every Company haing its Footmen with different Liveries, being about six hundred. After them came a Kettle Drum and five Trumpets, followed by twelve Ministers, then his Majesties Life-Guard advanced, being led

led by Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, and Major *Raſcarrock*, who were followed by the City Marſhal with eight Foot-men, and the City Waits and Officers in order, and they by the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns and Rich Trappings, attended with great numbers of Footmen in Red Coats laced with Silver and Cloth of Gold. Then followed the Maces and Heralds in their Rich Coats, the Lord Mayor bare, carrying the Sword, and the General and the Duke of *Buckingham* bare alſo, after whom as the chiefeſt Ray of Luſtre to all this Splendid Triumph, rode the King himſelf, between his two Royal Brothers, having obſerved that order all along from the very firſt overture of his return. After them marcht a Troop bare with white Colours, then the Generals Life-Guard, and another Troop of Gentry, and laſt of all marcht five Regiments of the Army Horſe, with Back, Breaſt and Head-Pieces, which diverſified the ſhew with delight & terror. This was the manner of his paſſing through *London*, for it is impoſſible for the moſt florid and Ingenious Pen, to expreſs thoſe loud Muſical and Raviſhing Notes of Acclamations, and *Vive-le-Roy's* which then filled

filled the Mouths and charmed the Ears of all his transported Subjects.

Being in this manner brought to *White-hall*, and the Lord Mayor and Citizens having taken their leave of him, he went to the Banqueting House, where both Houses of Parliament waited his Arrival, and received him with those demonstrations of joy and expressions of Reverence & humility that became them. The Speakers of each House in elegant Speeches acquainting him with the felicity and happiness they conceived in that happy revolution, and the pleasure they took to behold his return in safety, and thereby putting an end to that Tyranny and Slavery which his Kingdoms had so long endured.

He thankt them for their expressions of love and Loyalty, and told them that he was so disorder'd by his Journey, and with the noise still sounding in his ears, which he nevertheless confest to be pleasing to him, in regard it expresst the affections of his People, that he was thereby unfit to make them such a Reply as he desired; adding, that the greatest Satisfaction he took in that change, was the finding his heart fully set to endeavour by all means the Restoring the Nation to its

freedom

freedom and happineſs, which he hop'd by the advice of his Parliament to effect; aſſuring them that next to the honour of God from whom principally he deriv'd his reſtoration to his Crown, he would ſtudy the well-fare of his people, and not only approve himſelf a true Defender of the Faith, but alſo a juſt Aſſertor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects. And having taken leave of them, he retir'd to Supper, and ſoon after to his reſt, where it was time for him to find a ſweet and ſedate repoſe free from the confus'd noiſe and clamours of War, wherewith he had been for twenty years together ſtrangely toſs'd upon the boiſtrous Waves of fickle and unconſtant Fortune.

On the *Friday* following, he went by Water in the Brigandine, which brought him on board the *Charles* from *Holland*, to the houſe of Lords, the Yeomen of the guard making a lane for him to paſs through, and the Heraulds at Arms in their Rich Coats, the Maces and the Lord General bare-headed going before him. As ſoon as he was ſeated, he commanded the Commons to attend him, and having in a ſhort, but elegant ſpeech, preſt them to haſten the Act of oblivion, he ſign'd ſeveral Bills which they had made ready

againſt that time for the Royal aſſent; the Firſt whereof was an Act for the confirmation of that Parliament; a ſecond for a Tax of ſeventy thouſand pound *per menſem* for 3 Months, and a third for the continuance of Proceſs and Judicial proceedings. And then he return'd to *White-Hall*, where he choſe the Lords of his Privy Council, amongſt whom were ſeveral of the long Parliament, that had given ſufficient Teſtimony of their ſincere repentance, and their reſolution to be Loyal for the future, and he appointed Judges for the Benches and Courts of Judicature. Several Addreſſes were likewiſe made to him from the Nobility and Gentry of all the Countreys in *England*, wherein they congratulated his Reſtitution to his Crown and Kingdom, aſſuring him of their exceeding Joy and willingneſs to maintain his Royal Perſon and Authority. Divers perſons that had been eminent for their ſervice and affection to him, were about that time alſo dignified with the honour of Knighthood. And ſeveral men guilty of his Fathers murder, having made their eſcape beyond Sea, a Proclamation was Iſſued forth, wherein all thoſe perſons who had fate, gave

Judg-

Judgment, or any way assisted in that horrid and detestable fact, were commanded to surrender themselves within fourteen days to the Speaker or Speakers of Parliament, to the Lord Mayor of *London*, or the Sheriff of that County, wherein they then resided, forbidding all persons to conceal or harbour them, under misprision of Treason; whereupon divers submitted themselves, and were secur'd in the Tower.

The Commons in drawing up the Act of Oblivion, order'd, that some others besides those who had actually sate in Judgment upon the late King, should be excepted out of it, *viz. Broughton*, *Phelps*, *Cook*, *Danby*, and *Hugh Peters*, which so affrighted others who had a hand in that execrable murder, that Col. *John Hutchinson*, a Member of that Parliament, and Coll. *Frd. Lussels* presented their Petition to them, wherein they confest their guilt, and declar'd the artifices which were us'd to draw them in, by which submission they obtain'd pardon upon some small forfeitures only. But *Peters* being shortly after taken in *Southwark*, was clapt up into the Tower. And the Parliament not looking upon themselves, nor

the people of *England*, free from the guilt; nor ſafe from the puniſhment which in thoſe unhappy times they had contracted, unleſs they laid hold of the Kings offer of Grace in his Declaration from *Breda*, did therefore reſolv'd in a full houſe, that they did in the name of themſelves, and of all the Commons of *England*, lay hold on the gracious pardon mention'd in that Declaration, with reference to the excluſion of ſuch as ſhould be excepted in an Act of Pardon; and they order'd a Declaration, that their Reſolution ſhould be drawn up, which was done accordingly, and preſented to the King by *Denzell* afterward Lord *Hollis*; ſome of the moſt eminent in Office under the late Uſurpers, having in the mean while, to make ſure of that Grace, gotten their particular pardons exemplified under the great Seal of *England*: To prevent which trouble the King was more than ordinary preſſing for the ſpeedy paſſing the Act of Oblivion; taking care to expreſs his grateful ſentiments of the Loyalty, and ſervices of ſeveral Illuſtrious perſonages, that were principally inſtrumental in accompliſhing his Reſtauration, by dignifying them with Places and Titles of honour. And to ſhew how highly

highly the Generals Loyalty had advanc'd him in his good Opinion, he was dignifi'd by him with the Titles of Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, and Baron of *Potheridge Beauchamp & Teyes*, & had his Temples deserv'dly incircl'd with a Ducal Coronet by the hand of his Majesty, being thereby invested with the right of Peerage in all the three Kingdoms: whose equal Felicity, and Honour, he had preferr'd before his own, and therefore now most deservingly shar'd with them therein by his Investure in those Dignities, which were compleated on the 13th of the following *July*, by his taking his place in the House of Lords, being attended by the Commons, and introduc'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Montague* was made Earl of *Sandwich*, *Ormond* Earl of *Brecknock*, and Lord Steward of the Kings Houshold, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord High Chamberlain, *Mancheſter*, L. Chamberlain of the Kings Houshold, *Southampton*, Lord High Treasurer, *Greenvile*, Earl of *Bath*, and Groom of the Stole, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of the Kings Houshold, by an old grant, and Sir *John Berkley* Controller.

Divers rich Presents were now made to him from the several Cities and

Burroughs of the Kingdom in Gold and Plate, and the resignation of several Fee-farm Rents, which had been purchas'd from the Usurpers, the City of *London* among the rest, with a Complement of their good Stewardship, rendred their grant of new *Perk* in *Surrey*, and all the Rents accruing at *Michaelmas* Day, were now secured from the late Purchasers of Crown and Church Laws, to the utter disappointing of their unjust and covetous expectations from such base and unwarrantable Penny-worths.

A Peace was now made & Proclaim'd between us and *Spain*, and a Splendid Embassy dispatcht from *Denmark* to congratulate his happy Restauratian. The Court of *Soissons*, who had Married Cardinal *Mazarines* Neece, being sent from the *French* King on the same Errand, entring *London* with all the sumptuous, and extraordinary Magnificence imaginable; and there was no Prince nor State in *Europe*, but what sent an Embassador thither to congratulate him upon that happy and wonderful occasion.

And the Parliament having after many debates and disputes, alterations and insertions, at last finish'd the long desir'd Act of Oblivion, which was extraordinary

nary comprehenſive, and indulgent, (even to the regret of many injur'd Loyaliſts, who found no better Argument to perſwade their acquieſcing therein, than their unchangeable Loyalty to the King, whoſe ſpecial Act that was,) There were no more excepted out of it, but only the Regicides and Murderers of the late King, only *Lambert*, *Vane*, and twenty more were thereby reſerv'd to ſuch forfeitures, as ſhould be afterward declar'd by Parliament, the principal whereof was *Hazelrick*, St. *John Lenthal*, the Speaker, *Philip Nye*, *Burton* of *Yarmouth*, and ſome Sequeſtrators Officers, and Major Generals of the Army, among whom was *Desbrough*, *Pine*, *Butler*, *Ireton*, &c. They likewiſe paſt an Act for the perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the 29 of *May*, which was the day both of his Birth and Reſtauration, and therefore deſerv'd a perpetual memorial, and to be made by a Parliamentary Canonization, the moſt auſpicious in the Engliſh Kallender: to both which he gave his Royal aſſent, and ſhortly after, at their adjournment to another, for disbanding the Army, and paying off the Navy; which, although they once threatned us with a perpetuating

our ſlavery, yet were now forc'd by the happy conjunction of his Fortune, with his Wiſdom and Goodneſs, after many models, to ſubmit to its laſt deſolation. And the Commons having after the paſſing of their Bills, acquainted him that they had nothing more to ask or offer at that time, but that if his Majeſties occaſions would permit, they might adjourn and go into their own Countries, where they ſhould endeavour to make his ſubjects ſenſible of their extraordinary happineſs in having ſuch a King to Rule and Govern them; He conſented to it, telling them, that no man had long'd with more impatience, to have thoſe Bills paſt, than he had done to paſs them; in regard he look't upon them as the Foundation of the Nations Peace and Security, and that he did very willingly pardon all that were pardoned in the Act of Indempnity; but aſſuring them withal, that for the time to come the ſame diſcretion and conſcience which had diſpoſed him to the clemency that he had therein expreſt, and was moſt agreeable to his nature, would oblige him to all Rigour and Severity how contrary ſoever it were to his Diſpoſition, towards thoſe who ſhould

not

not now acquieſce, but continue to manifeſt their Sedition and diſlike of the Government, not knowing any more probable way to aſſure himſelf of his peoples affections, than by rendring himſelf juſt, as well as kind to all.

The confluence of his felicities were about this time ſomewhat abated, and the Joy of his Reſtauration ſomewhat allay'd by the immature and much lamented Death of his younger Brother *Henry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, a Prince of ſuch extraordinary hopes, that my ſilence will be his beſt Commendation, ſince his vertues far tranſcend the higheſt expreſſions of my Pen. He dyed of the ſmall-Pox, and was privately buryed in *Henry* the 7th's Chappel: The Princeſs of *Orange* ſoon after diſpelling the grief which had been conceiv'd upon the account of his death by her Arrival from *Holland*, to Joy and Felicitate her Brothers in the Recovery of their Rights.

About this time the King knowing that the Common wealth never thrives ſo well, as when the Church and State are equally Intereſted in the Princes care, applied himſelf to ſettle the Miter as well as the Crown, and provide for the well ordering

ordering of Eccleſiaſtical affairs, as well as he had done for the Civil, by reeſtabliſhing Epiſcopcay, and reſtoring the Biſhops to their ancient Rights and Priviledges. So that the Eccleſiaſtical Regiment by Biſhops recover'd its ſelf by the Kings piety and prudence, near as ſoon, and in almoſt as Triumphant a manner, as Monarchy it ſelf, appointing Dr. *Juxon*, that ancient and excellent Prelate, that had been in his Fathers Reign Biſhop of *London*, and had aſſiſted him at the time of his death on the Scaffold, to the Arch-Biſhopprick of *Canterbury*, whoſe Tranſlation was perform'd with great Solemnity. And not long after ſeveral new Biſhops choſen from among the eminent and valiant aſſerters of the Church and Laws of *England*, were conſecrated in the Abby at *Weſtminſter*, and all the Vacant Dioceſſes fill'd up with men of the greateſt Learning and Piety.

And now divine vengeance having with a ſure, though a ſlow foot, trac'd the Murderers of the Royal Martyr through ſeveral *Mazes*, at laſt overtake them. For the Parliament having in deteſtation of their Crime, and to wipe away the ſtain of that moſt accurſed Pollution, giv'n them up as Sacrifices to the Law, and the

Honour

Honour of their Country, the King order'd their Tryal by a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to begin on the Ninth of *October*, that ſo his Juſtice might appear equally as Reſpondent in the puniſhment of their Parricide, as his Clemency, had done in the pardon of all other Crimes. They were all of them convicted according to Law, the full benefit whereof was allow'd them, (being tryed by a Jury of their Peers, againſt whom they had the liberty of excepting) and Condemn'd to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd: and *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scrope*, *Jones*, *Peters*, *Hacker*, *Axtell*, and *Cook*, were Executed accordingly. The laſt of whom acknowledg'd, that the Perſon of the Prince they had Murder'd, was beyond any Parallel, being moſt Virtuous, moſt Innocent, moſt Religious; and that his Judges were for the moſt part mean and deſparate Perſons, whoſe Hands were lifted up by Ambition, Sacriledge, Covetouſneſs, and ſucceſs againſt the Life of that incomparable Prince, whoſe lamented and barbarous death God would not ſuffer to go unrevenged. Their quarters were diſpos'd of to the ſeveral Gates, and moſt of their Heads ſet on Poles upon

on the *Bridge*: but the reſt of the Priſoners that had ſurrendred themſelves on Proclamation, were reſpited from Execution till the farther pleaſure of the Parliament was known, and after Sentence paſt upon them, remanded to the Tower, from whence they came.

And, having now in ſome meaſure reveng'd his Fathers Death, his next reſpects were due to his Mother, who being about that time come over from *France*, he could not better welcome her to his Kingdoms, than by rendring his Entertainments of her Innocent, and free from that horrible guilt which had Divorc'd her from her Husband, and for ſo long a Tract of time eſtrang'd her from his People, ſince he could neither with Juſtice nor civility have receiv'd her here without ſatisfaction, and expectation of thoſe Crimes, which had ſo rudely driven her to ſeek her ſafety abroad. He brought her back to his Pallace at *Whitehall* on the Second of *November*, after ſhe had been nineteen Years abſent from them, together with his Siſter the Princeſs *Henretta*, who had not been ſuffered to breath in *Engliſh* Air above two years after her Birth.

This

This meeting, after ſo tedious and deſperate an abſence, was very joyous, and the Entertainment highly Magnificent.

The Marqueſs of *Argile*, upon the Kings Reſtauration, had the confidence, [notwithſtanding all the baſe Treaſons he had covertly acted in that Kingdom, ſince the Kings departure thence] to come up from *Scotland*, in hopes, by his fair and ſpecious pretences, to obtain his pardon; and that the King, according to his Gracious Inclination, would have paſt by thoſe many undutiful and Irreverend uſages he had receiv'd from him, and the reſt of his Aſſociates whilſt he was there amongſt them. But ſuch was the general hatred and deteſtation of that People (and eſpecially the Nobility) againſt him, that he was committed to the Tower, and from thence by Sea convey'd to *Edenborough*, where his proceſs was making ready. The Earl of *Middleton*, the Kings great Commiſſioner for that Kingdom, following him thither about the end of *December*, in order to his Tryal, where he was convicted and Executed for thoſe

those many Treasons he had perpetrated against both Kings.

Death having tasted of the Blood-Royal, by cutting off the Duke of *Gloucester*, as though there were a circulation of the very same in every individual, and it naturally ran in the same distemper, through a whole Family; the Infection by a kind of Sympathy, in the same disease of the Small-Pox, seized the vitals of the Princess of *Orange*, and in spite of all art and remedy, hurried her to the grave, leaving her Brother and the whole Court, fill'd with grief and sadness, and her Son the young Prince, not above ten years and a month old, she was privately buried by her Brother, in *Henry* the 7th Chappel.

And now the happy Parliament, which rendred it self deservedly Famous by rebuilding the glorious structure of the *English*, Ancient and Renowned Government, and assured the Foundation thereof, in the establishing the Throne of their rightful Soveraign, came to its final period: But that no revolution of time might obliterate or blot out the memory of those worthy and excellent things done

done by it. The King, at the time of his diſſolution, honour'd it by his Royal Mouth, with the Epithite of the Healing Parliament, which will undoubtedly recommend it to poſterity, and ought alwaies to provoke that great aſſembly to an imitation of them, in their endeavour to heal and cloſe the breaches of the Nation.

On the 30th of *January*, the day on which his Father was murder'd, he commanded *Cromwel*, *Ireton* and *Bradſhaw*, to be taken out of thoſe ſumptuous monuments, which they had uſurpt in their Death, as they had done the Throne in their Life-time, and drawn in a Cart from *Weſtminſter*, to the Red Lyon in *Holborn*, and from thence on Sledges to *Tyburn*, where they were hanged, from ten of the Clock till Sun ſet, and then cut down, and their Bodies buried in a deep hole under the Gallows, their heads being cut off, and plac'd upon *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they will continue the brand-marks of their poſterity, and the expiatory remains of their horrid and abominable Crimes.

About this time alſo, notwithſtanding

Overton,

Overton, *Courtney* and other Fifth *Monarchy-men* had been taken up and ſecured, yet thoſe mad and hair-brain'd People, ſtill perſiſted in their deſign'd Inſurrection, which ſtrange and unheard of action, will afford the trueſt ſight, and judgment of that Brainſick Crew, ſince a handful of thoſe wild People, preſum'd to attempt the whole City of *London*. For having arm'd themſelves, they came to St. *Paul*'s in the duſk of the evening, and having order'd and muſter'd their ſmall party, plac'd Centinels, one whereof kill'd an innocent Perſon, as he was accidentally paſſing by, for ſaying upon their demanding of him, who he was for, that he was for God and King *Charles*; and having created great diſturbance, they kill'd ſome of the City Watch, and repulſt a party of the Train-bands, that were ſent to charge them, and marcht through *Alderſgate*, (which they forc'd the Conſtable to open) to *Cane-wood*, where they lurkt for ſome time, with a reſolution to make another Inſurrection in the City, till they were routed by a party of Horſe and Foot, and about thirty of them taken Priſoners, who being carried before

before the General, (the King being at that time from *London*) was ſent by him to the *Gate-Houſe*; Notwithſtanding which deſeat, thoſe who eſcaped, after they had quitted the Wood, returned for *London*, with aſſurance of ſucceſs in their Helliſh Enterprize. *Venner*, who was a *Wine-Cooper* by Trade, telling them in his Sermon, which he Preacht to ſtir them up, and encourage them therein; That he was aſſured, *No Weapon fram'd againſt them ſhould proſper, nor a hair of their heads periſh*; which their Impunity in their firſt attempt deluded them to believe: And therefore, ſo ſoon as the Watches & Guards were removed: On *Wedneſday* morning they reinforced their *firſt* enterprize, appearing at *Thread-needle-Street*, and giving an Alarum to the Trained-Bands, which was appointed to watch all that day: A party of whom being ſent againſt them, were forced to retreat to their main Guard. Whereupon the whole Company marching in a body towards them, they fled into *Biſhops-gate-Street*, where happened a ſharp diſpute between them, wherein two were killed, and as many taken; the like number be-

ing killed and wounded of the Train'd-Bands. Their next appearance was at *Colledg-Hill*, from whence they March't up into *Cheap-ſide*, and ſo into *Wood-ſtreet*: *Venner* himſelf with a Murrion on his head, and a Halbird in his hand, being their chief Leader, where there was the fierceſt action that happened during the whole Inſurrection; for they fought it out ſtoutly with two Companies of the Trayned-Bands, and ſome of the Life-Guards Commanded by the Duke of *York*, and the General, in very good Order and Diſcipline, putting them at firſt to the retreat; till being over-power'd, and *Venner* knockt down and wounded, and *Tufney* and *Cragg*, two more of their principal Teachers; they began to give ground, and ſoon after fled in great Confuſion, diſperſing themſelves ſeveral wayes; but the greater of them went down *Wood ſtreet* towards *Cripplegate*, firing in their retreat at the Trained-Bands of Yellow, who followed them in cloſe purſuit; ten of them took into the *Blew-Anchor* Ale Houſe by the *Poſtern*, which they briskly maintained for ſome time; and when ſome of the Yellow, having poſ-

ſeſt

ſeſt themſelves of the next adjoyning Houſe, broke down ſome part of it, and fired in upon them, they notwithſtanding deſperately refuſed to accept of Quarter: And when another File of Muſqueteers, firing their way up ſtayrs, had ſhot down the door, and entred the Room upon them, ſix of them being kill'd before, and one upon refuſing quarter then knockt down and afterward ſhot with a Muſquet, the reſt being demanded, why they craved not Quarter before, anſwered, *That it was becauſe they durſt not, for fear leſt their own fellows would have ſhot them*; to ſuch a prodigious height had their reſolution and deſperation carried them.

The whole number of thoſe who made this laſt Inſurrection amounted not to about fifty Perſons, twenty whereof were taken (beſides thoſe killed) who were ſoon after brought to their Tryal; at which it was proved, that *Venner*, *Tufney* and *Crag*, had ſeveral times perſwaded their Congregation, to take up Armes for *King JESUS* againſt the Powers of the Earth, meaning thereby, the King, the Duke of *York*, and the General;

and that they were to have killed all that oppoſed them; ſixteen of them were found guilty, and Condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered; and eleven of them were executed accordingly, the other five being repreived by the Kings Mercy.

And now, leſt any of the ſcattered Rayes of the Imperial Brightneſs and Glory that belong to him, as a Monarch of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, ſhould ſuffer a diminution, or be obſcured by too long an interval, greater preparations were made for the ſetling the Crown, (which alone of all the Enſigns of Majeſty had eſcapt the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*, when he had impudently aſſumed all the other Regalities of his Rightful King and Soveraign, but could no way fit this Sacred Symbol of Majeſty to his impious and aſpiring deſignation; although he had made the moſt holieſt things, and even Scripture it ſelf to truckle thereunto) with all imaginable ſplendor, upon his head; a Ceremony that ſerves not ſo much for an exceſs of Pomp, as a boundary of Government, and was contrived at firſt, more out of profoundneſs

foundneſs of State-Reaſon, than for the tranſient Glory of the Ceremony it ſelf. In order whereunto, the City of *London* Erected four Magnificent and tryumphal Arches; the firſt whereof was in *Leaden-hall-Street*, after the *Dorick* order; on the North ſide whereof on a Pedeſtal before the Arch, was placed a Woman perſonating Rebellion, Mounted on a *Hydra* in a *Crimſon Robe* torn in ſeveral places, Snakes crawling on her habit, and in her hair; her Loynes girt with Serpents, a Crown of Fire on her head, a bloody Sword in one hand, and a charming Rod in the other; being attended on by Confuſion, repreſented in a deformed ſhape, having on a Garment of ſeveral ill-matcht Colours, put on the wrong way; on her Head Ruines of Caſtles and torn Crowns, and in her Hand, broken and ſhattered Scepters. On the South Pedeſtal was a Repreſentation of *Britains* Monarchy, ſupported by Loyalty, with Women; Monarchy arayed in a large Purple Robe, adorned with Diadems and Scepters, and over that a looſe Mantle edged with blew and ſilver Fringe reſembling Water; the

Mapp of *Great Britain* being drawn on it: Upon her head was the City of *London*; in her right hand *Edenburgh*; in her left *Dublin*. Loyalty was all in white, with three Scepters in her right hand, and three Crowns in her left.

The firſt Painting on the South ſide was a proſpect of His Landing at *Dover*, Ships at Sea, great Guns going off, one kneeling and kiſſing the Kings hand, attended by many Souldiers both Horſe and Foot, and great numbers of People gazing above; and beneath this Motto, *In Solido Rurſus Fortuna Locavit*, alluding to that of *Virgil*, thus Rendred.

Fortune Reviving, tho ſhe tumbled down
Sporting, Reſtores again unto the Crown.

Above the Arch on the North and South-Sides, ſtood the Statues of *James* and *Charles* the firſt, and between them ſomewhat higher, and juſt over the Arch, that of the Reſtored King, with this Inſcription.

D. N. Carolo *D. G.* Britanniarum
Imp. Opt. Max. ubique venerando
Semper AUG. Bretiſſimo ac piiſſimo,
Bono Reip. Nato. De avita Britannia
Et Omnium Hominum Genere
Meritiſſimo. P. P. Extinctori
Tyrannidis, Reſtitutori Libertatis,
Fundatori Quietis ob Felicem Reditum.
Ex Voto L. M. P. S. P. Q. L.

The Second, which was a Naval Repreſentation, was erected in *Cornhill* near the *Royal-Exchange*; on the Eaſt ſide whereof two Stages were erected, on each ſide of the Street one; in that on the South ſide, a perſon repreſenting the River of *Thames*; and on that on the North ſide, which was made like the upper deck of a Ship, were three Seamen, whereof one was habited like a Boat-Swayn, and upon the Shield or Table on the front of the Arch a *Latine* Inſcription; the firſt painting on the North ſide over the City Arms repreſented *Neptune*, with his Trident advanced, with this Inſcription:

Neptuno Reduci.

On the South side opposite to *Neptune*, was *Mars* represented with his Spear Inverted, having his Sheild charged with a *Gorgon*, and by his knees this Motto,

Marti Pacifero.

Over the Arch, the Marriage of *Thame* and *Isis*. The painting in the North side over *Neptune*, represented the *Exchange*, with this Motto:

Generalis Lapsi Sarcire Ruinas.

The uppermost great Table in the fore ground represented *Charles* the first, with the Prince his Son, who was the then Restored King, in his hand, viewing the Soveraign of the Sea; the Prince Leaning on a Canon with this Inscription,

O Nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æquor,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica ventt.
For Thee O Jove's *delight, the Seas engage,*
And muster'd Winds drawn up in battel Rage.

The

The third, which repreſented an Artificial building of two Stories, the one after the *Corinthian* way of Architecture, the other after the *Compoſit*, with a Latin Inſcription upon a Shield, was Erected near *Wood-ſtreet* end, not far from the place where the Croſs formerly ſtood: In the ſpanderills of which Arch, two Figures in Female habit, and a leaning poſture, repreſented *Peace*; whoſe Shield was charged with a Helmet, and Bees iſſuing forth and going into it, with this Motto:

Pax bello Potior.

And *Truth* cloathed in a thin habit; on her Shield, *Times* bringing *Truth* out of a Cave, with this Motto:

Tandem Emerſit.

Over the great Painting upon the Arch of the Cupula, was Repreſented a large *Geryon* with three heads Crowned: In his three right hands, a Lance, a Sword, and a Scepter; in his three left, the Eſcutcheons of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, having before

fore him the Kings Arms with three Imperial Crowns, and beneath him in great Letters *Concordia Insuperabilis.*

The fourth Triumphant Arch, which represented the Garden of Plenty, and was of two Stories, one after the *Dorick* Order, the other of the *Jonick*, was Erected in *Fleet-street* near the turning into *White-Friers*, and had upon the great Sheild over the Arch, in Large Capitals, this Inscription,

Ubertati AUG. extincto belli
Civilis incendio clusoq Jani
Templo arum celsis constructit.
S. P. Q. L.

Over the Postern on the South side of the entrance, was represented *Bacchus* drawn in a Chariot by *Leopards*; his Mantle a *Panthers* skin, a Crown of *Grapes* on his head, a *Thyrsis* with Ivy in his left hand, and underneath, *Liber Pater.*

The Painting over this represented a Vineyard, with *Silenus* on his *Ass*, with *Satyrs* dancing round about him in drunken and antick Postures.

And

And on the North ſide oppoſite to *Bacchus*, was repreſented *Ceres* drawn in a Chariot by winged Dragons, and Crowned with Eares of Corne; having in her left hand Poppyes, and in her right a blazing Torch; the Painting over her, being the deſcription of Harveſt.

Ceres AUG.

And the King having created ſix Earles, as many Barons, and Sixty Eight Knights of the Bath, to aſſiſt at that Ceremony, and appointed the 23*d.* of *April*, which was St. *Georges* day, for the Conſummating thereof, the Glory and Splendor of it commenced the day before, when he paſt through the City to *White-Hall*, in a moſt Magnificent and Tryumphant manner; For the Streets being all gravelled, and filled with a vaſt multitude of wondring Spectators, as well out of the Country as the City, and ſome Forraigners who acknowledg themſelves never to have ſeen amongſt all the great Magnificencies of the World, any that came near, or equal'd that; and even the Vaunting *French* were

forced

forced to confeſs, that their Pomp of the late Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, upon their Majeſties entrance into *Paris*, was far inferior in its State, Gallantry, and Riches, unto that moſt Illuſtrious and dazelling Cavalcade, which proceeded after this manner.

Firſt went the Horſe Guard of His Illuſtrious Brother the *Duke* of *York*, the Meſſengers of the Kings Bed-Chamber, the Eſquires and Knights of the Bath, being *One Hundred* and *thirty Six* in number; The Knight *Harbinger*, the Serjeant Porters, the Sewers of the Chamber, the Quarter Waiters, the Six Clerks of the *Chancery*, the Clerks of the *Signet*, the Clerks of the *Privy Seal*, the Clerks of the *Council*, the Clerks of the *Parliament*, the Clerks of the *Crown*, the Chaplains in Ordinary bearing Dignities ten in number; the Kings Advocate and the Remembrancer, the Kings Councel at Law, the Maſter of Chancery, the King *Puiſne* Serjeants, the Kings Attorney and Sollicitors, the Kings Eldeſt Serjeants, the Secretaries of the *French* and *Latin* Tongues, the Gentlemen Uſhers dayly

dayly Waiters, the Sewers, Carvers, and Cup-bearers in Ordinary, the Masters of ſtanding Officers being no Councellors, *viz.* Of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armory, Wardrobe, Ordinance, the Maſter of Requeſts, Chamberlain of the *Exchecquer*, Barons of the *Exchecquer*, and Judges of the Law according to their ſeveral Dignities, Trumpets, Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Knights of the Bath, the Knights Marſhal, the Treaſurer of the Chamber, the Maſter of the Jewel Houſe, the Knights of the Privy Councel, the Comptrollor, and the Treaſurer of the Kings-Houſehold, two Trumpets and Serjeants; Trumpets, two Purſivants at Arms, Barons Eldeſt Sons, Earls Youngeſt Sons, Viſcounts Eldeſt Sons, Marqueſſes Youngeſt Sons, Earls Eldeſt Sons; two Purſivants at Armes, Viſcounts and Dukes Eldeſt Sons, Marqueſſes Eldeſt Sons; two Heralds, Earls, Earl Marſhal, and Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, Dukes Eldeſt Sons, Serjeants at Armes on both ſides; the Nobility, *Clarencieux* and *Norroy*, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Chancellor, Lord High-Steward, the Duke of *Ormond*, and

and two persons representing the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, Gentleman Usher, Garter, Lord Mayor, (His Royal Highness, the Duke of *York* alone) the Lord High Constable of *England*, which was the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, which was then the Earl *Lindsey*, and the Sword carryed by the Duke of *Richmond*.

Equeries and Footmen followed next, and about the King himself, Gentlemen and Pensioners; without them, Master of the Horse, which was the Duke of *Albemarle* leading a Spare Horse, the Vice-Chamberlain to the King, the Captain of the Pensioners, the Captain of the Guard, the Guard, the Kings Life Guard, Commanded by the Lord *Gerrard*, the Generals Life Guard by Sir *Phillip Howard*, a Troop of Voluntiers, Troop, and a Company of Foot by Sir *John Robinson*.

The way from the Tower to *Aldgate*, was guarded by the *Hamblets*, from thence to *Temple-Bar* by the *Train-Bands* on the one side, and by the Livery on the other, with the Banners of each Company; the Windows

dows were all along laid with Carpets and the beſt Tapiſtry, Bands of Muſick in ſeveral places, and the Conduits running with Wine. In St. *Pauls Church-Yard* ſtood the Blew-coat-Boyes of *Chriſt-Church Hoſpital*, one whereof in the Name of the reſt, declared their joy for his Majeſties wonderful Preſervation and Reſtauration, *Humbly beſeeching his Gracious Favour and Indulgence, according to the example of His Royal Anceſtors, and his Father of Bleſſed Memory.* With which Speech he was well pleaſed, and teſtified his being ſo, by his rewarding the Boy that ſpoke it.

In the *Strand*, and through *Weſtminſter*, the wayes were likewiſe gravelled and railed, and guarded on both ſides with the Trained-Bands of that City, and the Kings two Regiments of Foot under the Command of *Albemarl*, and Collonel *Ruſſel*, and the Houſes adorned with Carpets and Tapeſtry like thoſe in *London*: When he came through *Temple-Bar*, the Head Bayliffe and High-Conſtable in Scarlet, met and received him with loud Muſick, and alighting off their Horſes, and kneeling down, the Head Bayliff

Bayliff on behalf of the Dean and Chapter, City and Liberty, ſignified their Joyful Reception of His Royal Perſon into that Liberty; Declaring how much their happineſs exceeded any other part of the Nations in that their Soveraign Lord and King was come among them, and humbly deſiring His Majeſty to continue his Grace and Favour to them, whereby they might ſtill be enabled to do His Majeſty ſervice.

Infinite and Innumerable were the Shouts and Acclamations from all parts as he paſt along, to the no leſs Joy, than amazement of the Spectators: And the Pomp of this Solemnity was ſo great, that it is vain to attempt the deſcribing it; it being not only unutterable, but almoſt Inconceivable; and many outlandiſh Perſons, who beheld it, admired how it was poſſible for the *Engliſh*, after ſuch horrible confuſions, to appear in ſo rich and ſtately a manner. It is incredible to think what coſtly Robes were worn that day, it being ſcarcely diſcernable what their Cloaks were made of, for the Gold and Silver Laces and Imbroidery that was laid

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on them, beſides the ineſtimable treaſures of Diamonds, Pearles, and other Jewels, and the Rich Liveries of their Pages and Footmen, ſome ſuits whereof were ſo very rich, that they amounted to near 1500*l.*

In this order he arrived at *White-Hall*, where having retired himſelf to ſupper, and ſo to Reſt; he came the next day, (which being St. *Georges* day, was to conſummate the Coronation,) from his privy Staires to the Old Pallace; where in a Room behind the Houſe of Lords, called the Prince's Lodgings, he ſtayed till the Lords and the reſt of his Train had Robed and Ranked themſelves in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and, ſo ſoon as they were ready, deſcended the Stairs, that went down into the Hall, and placed himſelf in a Throne, in the upper end thereof; Then came the Dean and Prebends of *Weſtminſter* in their Rich Copes, each of them having a part of the *Regalia*, and delivered them to the Lord High Conſtable; who delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and being by him ſet

on a Table, the King immediately diſtributed them, St. *Edwards* Staff to the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Spurrs to *Pembrcke*, the Sword called *Curtana* to *Oxford*, the pointed Sword carryed on the Right Hand of it to *Shrewsbury*, that carryed on the left to *Derby*, and the Sword of State to *Mancheſter*, the Scepter with the Dove to *Albemarle*, the Orb with the Croſs to *Buckingham*, St. *Edwards* Crown to *Ormond*; and the *Pattina* and Challice to the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*: And having thus beſtowed the *Regalia*, he ſet forward on foot much after the ſame order, which was obſerved the day before, upon blew Cloath ſpread on the ground from the Hall to his Chair in the Abby, ſupported by the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Durham*, and having his Trayn carried up by the Lords *Mandevill*, *Cavendiſh*, *Oſſery* and *Piercy*, aſſiſted by the Lord Viſcount *Mansfield* Maſter of the Robes; All the Peers with their Coronets in their hands, went up along with him till he was placed in the Chair of State: Then the Biſhop of *London*, on behalf of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canter-*

Canterbury told the People, he did there preſent them King *Charles* the Second, the Rightful Inheritor of the Crown of this Realm, and demanded of all thoſe that came thither that day to do their Homage, Service and Bounden Duty, whether they were willing to do the ſame? Whereupon all the Peers in their Parliament Robes, and People gave a ſhout teſtifying their willingneſs: Then the King riſing from his Chair, turned himſelf to the four ſides of the Throne, and ſpeaking to the People, who again with loud Acclamations ſignified their conſent, all in one voice: After which the Choire ſung an Anthem; in the interim whereof, he went ſupported by the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Durham*, attended by the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to the ſteps before the Communion Table; where upon Carpets and Cuſhions he offered a Pall and a piece of Gold, and then removing to the right hand kneelled down during a ſhort Collect; then the Sermon began, being Preacht by the Biſhop of *Worceſter*; which ended, the Biſhop of *London* on behalf of the Lord Arch-Biſhop

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of *Canterbury*, ask't Him, *If He would be pleaſed to take the Oath, that was wont to be taken by his Predeceſſors?* Whereupon riſing out of the Chair, He was led by His two Supporters to the Communion Table, where he made a ſolemn Oath, to obſerve thoſe things he had before promiſed; and then returning to his Chair again, kneeled at the Footſtool, while the *Hymn* of the Holy Ghoſt was Singing.

Then he aroſe from his Devotion, and diſrobed himſelf of his upper Garment; and his under Garment being ſo contrived, that the Places to be Anointed might be opened by undoing certain Loops: The Arch Biſhop proceeded to that Ceremony; after which the *Coife* was put on his head, and the *Dalmatica*, the *Super-Tunica*, of Cloath of Gold, and the *Tiſſue Buskins* and *Sandals* of the ſame; And the *Spurrs* being put on by the Peer that carried them; the Arch-Biſhop took the Kings Sword, and laid it on the Communion Table, which after Prayer was reſtored to him again,

gain, and girt on him by the Lord Great Chamberlain; then the *Armil* and the *Mantle* or Open Pall was put on; after which the Arch-Biſhop taking the Crown into his hands laid it on the Communion Table, and having prayed took it up again, and ſet it on the Kings head; whereupon all the Peers put on their Coronets and Caps, and the Choire Sung an *Anthem*; Then the Arch-Biſhop took the Kings Ring, and having prayed put it on the fourth finger of the Kings hand; after which the King took off his Sword, and offered it up, which the Lord Great Chamberlain having redeemed, drew it out, and carried it naked before him: Then the Arch-Biſhop delivered the Scepter with the Croſs into his Right, and the Rod with the Dove into his Left hand, and the King kneeling bleſſed him; after which the King aſcended His Throne Royal, attended by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, where after *Te Deum* Sang, all the Peers did their Homage Kiſſing his left Cheek, and afterward ſtanding all round about him, they every one in their order

toucht the Crown upon his head, promiſing their readineſs to ſupport it to the utmoſt of their Power; and then proceeding to the Communion, the King having received and offered, returned to his Throne till Communion was ended; after which he went into St. *Edwards* Chappel, and taking his Crown from his head, delivered it to the Biſhop of *London*; who having laid it upon the Communion Table, the King withdrew into a Traverſe, where the Lord Great Chamberlain diſrobed him of St. *Edwards* Robes, delivering them to the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and arrayed him with thoſe prepared for that day; and then being conducted to the Communion Table in St. *Edwards* Chappel, the Crown Imperial, provided for him to wear, was ſet up n his head: After which, taking the Scepter and the Rod, and his Train being ſet in order before him, he went up to the Throne, and ſo through the Choire and Body of the Church, out at the *Weſt* door to the Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, the Peers according to their Rank going before him with their Coronets

nets on, and in the great Hall, (at the upper end whereof was a Table and Chair of State, raiſed upon an aſcent for the King, and below Tables for the Nobility, the Lord Mayor and Citizens, the Officers at Arms, &c.) they were entertained with a Noble and Magnificent dinner; after which he returned in his Barge to *White-Hall.*

It is very obſervable, that altho' it had rained for about a month before, yet it pleaſed God, that not one drop fell upon this Splendid Triumph, which appeared in its full Luſtre and Grandeur; but was no ſooner over, and the King and his Traine ſat down to Dinner, but it fell a Thundering, Lightning and Raining, with the greateſt Force, Vehemency and Noiſe, that was ever known at that ſeaſon of the Year; the Thunder and Lightning ſeeming, as it were, to imitate the Fire and Noiſe of the Cannon, which then plaid from the Tower; it being obſerved, that they exactly kept time with that loud Muſick; ſo that they were

easily distinguishable from each other; the Thunder and lightning still intermitting between each firing of the Canons, as if they had waited to receive and answer the Reciprocated and ecchoed Boation and Clashes of the Guns; which was taken by the most Judicious and discerning part of Mankind for a very auspicious and promising Omen, notwithstanding the mad Remnant of the Rebellion would have had it paralled to *Sauls* Inauguration, without reflecting upon the Season, or the Different case between the Ancient Kingly Right and Descent in *Christendom*; and that new Title and Government in *Jewry*, which in regard of the peculiar presence of God amongst them before, was a kind of casting him off, and declaring they would not have him to Reign over them.

There was not only in *London*, but through the whole Kingdom great rejoycing for the Kings Coronation, which was manifested by Feasting, and other Publick shews; as Trayning the several Bands of the Countryes

tryes with the additional Voluntary Gentry, in a new and gallant Cavalry; And ſo there was in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in each whereof there was likewiſe the ſame kind of Tryumphs, in reſemblance of this Magnificence.

And having with as much Brevity as poſſible glided through this Sphere of Glory, in which the Ancient honour of the Government and Kingdom was reſixt, and given the World the full and compleat View of that wonderful Revolution, which will undoubtedly be the amazement of all ſucceeding Ages, each Luminary being thereby placed and ſhining in their proper Orbs and degrees, the Soveraign, Nobility, Clergy, Gentry and Commonalty, having by that bleſſed change recovered their former and diſtinct Luſtre, and from being the ſcorn and deriſion, were once again become the Envy of the World: I ſhall proceed to ſhew by what Rules and Methods, he managed the Government throughout his whole Raign, and therein ſhall begin; Firſt with his Call-

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ing a Parliament, with whom he desired to meet and consult for the more effectual healing the Breaches, uniting the Differences, and redintegrating the mutual Affections and Endearments, which the unnaturalness and perverse malignity and divisions of the late times had abrupted and hitherto discontinued.

When he dissolved that Parliament or Convention, which was sitting when he came in; He promised the calling of a new one, and accordingly Issued out His Writs soon after for their sitting down the *Eighth* of *May*; a little before which several Musters had been made in *England* of the *Militia*, and a General Train in *Hide-Park*, of all the Forces about *London*, both Horse and Foot; Fifteen Regiments whereof he there took a view of. The chief Stickling in the Election of Members for this Parliament, was between the *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Parties; the Latter whereof notwithstanding their Numbers, found themselves greatly mistaken in the suffrages of the Kingdom, when under

der no Awe, nor distempered with a Frenzy, and a misguided Zeal; For altho several Letters were dispatcht by the chief Ministers of that Perswasion to their Correspondents, wherein they exhorted them to do their utmost in procuring such persons to be Elected for Members of that Parliament, as were known to favour their Discipline; yet that no part of the Government might be left unjustified and unreared, the greater part of those, chosen for Members of the *House of Commons*, were as well affected to the Restoration and Settlement of the Church, as the former had been to the Restoration and Settlement of the Crown.

The *Eighth* of *May* being come, when they were to sit, according to the Splendid Custome of opening those great Assemblies, He rode in State and Tryumph from *White-Hall* to *Westminster*, being arrayed in his Royal Robes, and his Crown on his head; and having placed himself on His Throne in the House of Peeres, commanded the Commons to attend him there

there, and in a moſt pleaſant and obliging manner, declared his great Content in meeting them, Telling them, that he was very confident, that it would prove a happy Parliament, and acquainting them with his deſign of his Marrying the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, which Match having been propoſed to his Privy Council, and highly approved of by them, he thought none there preſent would willingly have him live and die a Batchellor: In confidence whereof he had newly made and ſigned a Treaty with that King by his Embaſſadour *Don Franciſco de Mello*, who was then ready to depart with the ſaid Treaty, in which the Article of Marriage was inſerted. The Kings Speech being ended, and the Lord Chancellor *Hide* having given them a further account of the Reaſons, why they were called, and the happy Effects his Maſter expected from their Sitting: The Commons made Choice of Sir *Edward Turner* the Dukes Attorney General for their Speaker; who in his Speech upon his being preſented to, and accept-

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of by the King, expreſt the hopes of that Houſe: *That as His Majeſty had manifeſted his great Indulgence to their former, which was but his Adopted,* So he had a fuller Bleſſing for that preſent, which was his Natural Parliament, being called by His immediate Writ. The Convocation of the *Engliſh* Clergy, being all Eminent, Learned, and Pious Perſons, met likewiſe on the Sixteenth of that Month at *Weſtminſter*; and a Parliament began about the ſame time in *Ireland.*

The Parliament at the ſpecial inſtance, and deſire of the King, who was willing to give the higheſt demonſtration of his Care and Reſolution, for the aſſuring to his Subjects whatſoever was contained and promiſed in His Declaration from *Breda*, and the Act of Pardon, firſt began with an Act for the Confirmation of the Act of Oblivion, which being done by the Free Parliament not called by the Kings Writ, was thought by the Guilty not to be valid, and ſecure enough to them; and that they might by a wiſe proviſion before hand,

hand, ptevent all Objections and Scruples which might otherwiſe have been raiſed upon that account; They Ratified and Confirmed all the other Laws made therein, and then proceeded to frame ſuch new ones as were neceſſary for the better ſetling and maintaining the Publick Peace; wherein that for Regulating Corporations, as the moſt neceſſary, had the Precedency, wherein Commiſſioners were Impowered to diſplace all ſuch as bore Offices, and were any way ſuſpected to be ill-willers to the Government and the Kings Authority, or ſhould refuſe the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, or the Oath of *Abjuration*; which was indeed at that time the only, or at leaſt the chief Teſt of Loyalty, in regard they were therein to renounce the *Solemn League* and Covenant, as unlawful in it ſelf and illegally impoſed. But during the Houſes Debate about that Bill, Mr. *Prin*, who had alwayes indulged himſelf the liberty of Quarrelling with every thing that any way ran counter to his inclinations, could not refrain againſt the Priviledge of the Houſe,

Houſe, whereof he was a Member, from publiſhing his Reaſons againſt the ſaid Bill, affirming it was contrary to *Magna Charta*; but the Commons having Commanded their Serjeant at Arms, to Seize the *Printer*, and *Prin* owning himſelf to be the Author; he was brought to the Barr, and ſeverely rebuked by the Speaker; but upon his humble ſubmiſſion, and the Houſe's favourable reflection upon his great Endeavours for the Reſtitution of the King; he was remitted the Cenſure and Puniſhment which he had incurred by that over-ſight. And that they might ſhew their reſpect and veneration to the Prelacy, by relieving it from the Oppreſſions, and juſtifying of it from the Calumnies and Reproaches of the late times, they Repealed the Act of the 1 *Caroli.* 7. which forbid the Biſhops medling in Civil affaires and debarred them from their Priviledg of Peerage in the Houſe of Lords; to all which Honours they were by this Repeal reſtored as fully as ever they had been before.

The free Parliament, having before their

their desolution, respitted the punish-ment of several of the Regicides; the Parliament next reassumed the Consideration of that matter, and having caused the Lord *Manson*, Sir *Henry Mildmay* and Mr. *Robert Wallop*, to be brought to the Bar, declared their Estates to be confiscated, and their Persons and Posterity degraded from all Titles and Armes of Gentility; and that they should be carried back again to the Tower, and from thence be drawn through the City of *London* to *Tyburn* on the 30*th.* of the following *January*, and so back again with halters about their necks upon *Sledges*, and after that, to suffer perpetual imprisonment. And having now done as much as could be expected from them for the present, they were adjourned by the King, who declared his great satisfaction in what they had done; and that his confidence in them had not in the least deceived him. About which time the Duke of *York* having been chosen Captain to the Artillery Company in *London*, honoured them with his Presence and led them in their Ground: And

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in the *Auguſt* following, the Kings Sollicitor, Sir *Heneage Finch*, being choſen Reader of the *Inner-Temple*, he was pleaſed to indulge him a Favour, never granted before by any of his Royal Progenitors, to any of thoſe famous Societies, accepting of an invitation to dine with him in that Hall.

Theſe endeavours of the Parliament to ſettle the Nation upon the Foundation of a well-grounded and laſting Peace, by excluding from all Offices, as well Sacred as Civil and Military, thoſe that refuſed to take the aforeſaid Oaths, did highly urge the Diſcontented of the late Anarchy; whoſe anger ſuggeſted to them ſome hopes of undoing all again: In order whereunto, they laid new deſigns and Conſpiracies, and had ſeveral meetings to conſult about them; but their deſignes proved Abortive, by a timely diſcovery, *Barbone*, *Moyer*, *Salmon*, *Wildman*, *Haynes*, *Ireton*, and others were ſeized and Committed to ſafe cuſtody.

The King out of a Noble and generous inclination to ſhew Reſpect and Veneration to the Memory of his Friends, when it was out of his power to reward their Perſons, and conſidering likewiſe that the Living are uſually very much taken with kindneſſes expreſt to the dead; did about this time give order for the Re-interring thoſe two Loyal Commanders Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, which was performed with abundance of ſplendor at *Colcheſter*; the place which they had bravely defended for him, and where they were at its Reduction baſely ſhot to death; all the Gentry of thoſe Parts, together with the Townesmen in Armes and Mourning attending their Hearſes: As he had done a little before for the Earl of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*.

Count *Coningſmark*, who was ſent hither from the Young King and Queen of *Sweden*, being upon his departure, another more ſplendid Embaſſy was ſent from thence, at whoſe Reception near the *Tower*, a Fray or Con-

Conflict happened between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, upon a Quarrel for Precedency, whoſe Coach ſhould follow next after that wherein the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador rode: Both Parties came prepared for the Encounter, but the *French* were baſely worſted, and ſeven or eight of them ſlain, which was like to have proved the ground of a new War between thoſe Crowns; the *French* King ſending a Meſſenger to *Madrid* to demand ſatisfaction: But at the entreaty of the new married Queen, and the *Spaniſh* King conſenting, that the *French* Ambaſſador ſhould for the time to come have the Precedency upon ſuch occaſions; the difference was compoſed: Now alſo ſeveral Priſoners in the *Tower*, Regicides and others, were by reaſon of the unwearied Practices of their Parties abroad, ſent to ſeveral remote Caſtles and Iſlands for ſecuring the Peace.

The adjournment being expired, the Parliament met again, on the 20*th.* of *November*, when the Lords Spiritual the Biſhops, by vertue

of the Act of Repeal made in the former Seſſion, took their places again in Parliament; which the King was very much pleaſed to behold; and in his Speech to both Houſes, did Congratulate with them for their enjoyment of their former priviledges, as a Felicity he had much deſired, to ſee accompliſht in that goodly reſtored and re-eſtabliſht Fabrick of the Government; and the Regicides that came in upon Proclamation, and were upon that account reſpited after Sentence to the Pleaſure of the Parliament, being brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and demanded what they had to ſay, Why Judgment ſhould not paſs upon them, according to Sentence? pleaded the Proclamation: *Harry Martyn* adding, that he never obeyed any Proclamation before; and therefore hoped he ſhould not be then hanged for taking the Kings word; whereupon they were remanded back again to the *Tower*, till further Order. *Ireland* having been hitherto governed by three Lords Juſtices: The Duke of *Ormond* having been a faithful Servant,

vant, and conſtant Attender upon the King in all his Troubles, was now nominated Deputy of that Kingdom; and Epiſcopacy, after it had been ſo long baniſhed out of *Scotland*, and ſo many Miſeries and Confuſions had befallen that Kingdom through the Fury and Zeal of the *Kirke*, was reduced with all gladneſs and ſufficient teſtimonies, of a welcome reception, the four Biſhops that had been a little before Conſecrated at *Lambeth*; reſtored, whereof Dr. *James Sharpe* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Metropolitan of *Scotland* was one, who Conſecrated others in that Kingdom, the whole Order being defunct by the long Uſurpation of the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline.

A Fleet was at this time ſent to fetch home the Queen from *Portugal*, and carry Forces to Garriſon *Tangier*, which being part of the Queens Dowry, was delivered by them to Sir *Richard Stayner*, who with Five Hundred Men had taken poſſeſſion of it in his Maſters behalf; and was to maintain it till the Earl of

Peterborough, who was nominated for Governour, ſhould arrive; and the King ſuppoſing her to be by this time at Sea, on her way for *England*, acquainted the Parliament therewith, and deſired that as a Complement to her, they would cauſe the Streets and High-wayes of *London*, to be fitted and cleanſed againſt Her Reception.

This Royal Bride ſeems to have been fitted and prediſpoſed by Heaven, for his Princely Embraces; for beſides being deſigned for him by her Father in the beginning of the late Troubles, her Family had ſuffered a long Eclipſe by the interpoſition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy for the ſpace of near one hundred Years, and had now newly recovered its Splendor by her Fathers aſſuming the Crown, which was almoſt as miraculous a Revolution, and as ſtrange a turn of Providence, as that of our Captivity, by his recovery of his Dominions. On the 14*th*. of *May*, She arrived ſafe at *Portſmouth*, (in the *Charles*, which had brought

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the King over to *England*) after a tedious and dangerous Voyage; the joy whereof ſerved to alleviate the grief, and wipe away the Tears occaſioned by the death of his Aunt, the Queen of *Bohemia*, who died a little before; having lived to ſurvive all the Misfortunes of her Family, which almoſt from the very time of Her Marriage, in the Year *One Thouſand Six Hundred and Twelve*, had fallen very thick upon it. Her death was followed with a moſt violent and Tempeſtuous Wind, whereby divers Perſons were killed, and much damage done, as well in Forraign parts as in theſe Kingdoms, as if Heaven had deſigned thereby to intimate to the World, that thoſe Troubles and Calamities, ſuffered by that Princeſs and the Royal Family, and by which moſt parts of *Europe* had been tempeſted, were now all blown over, and was like her to reſt in a perpetual Repoſe. Several Bills which were ready for His Royal Aſſent detained him at *White-Hall*, ſomewhat longer then he was willing, had their weight and tenden-

cy been of leſs importance, but in regard their being paſt into Acts, would ſet the Nation right, where it was before the Troubles began, by providing remedies againſt thoſe miſchiefs which had then unhinged the Kingdoms happineſs; ſuch as the Forbidding armed or tumultuary Petitions, and ordering that not above Twelve ſhall reſort together at any time, to deliver Petitions to the King, whereby they provided ſo far as Humane Wiſdom could foreſee againſt the like dangers, by inſenſible degrees brought upon the Nation in the late Confuſions:

But having once ſigned thoſe Acts, and thereby furniſht his Subjects with ſo many good and wholſome Laws, as no Age of our fore-Fathers could ever boaſt of, he poſted away to *Portſmouth*, having ſent the Biſhop of *London* thither before Him, who was to conſummate the Sacred Rights of Marriage, which was performed in private; and the Queen Conducted ſoon after by Him to *Hampton-Court*; and from thence to *London*,

London in great Pomp and Splendour. The Parliament of *Ireland*, having about that time, for the better defraying his neceſſary Charge given him a ſubſidy of One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds to be raiſed in two Years.

The *African* Potentates, alarumed by the Arrival of the Engliſh, and terrified by the Fame of thoſe Warlike and Martial Atchievements, began to fear, that if they ſuffered them quietly to poſſeſs *Tangier*, they ſhould thereby give them incouragement to incroach farther upon them; which conſideration drew thither *Gayland*, a War-like Prince, but then a Rebel againſt the Emperour of *Fez* and *Morocco*, having uſurpt part of his Dominions, who continued there about for ſome time upon pretence of entring into a League of Friendſhip with them; but meeting of a ſudden, as he was ranging with his Horſe (who are accounted the ſwifteſt in the World) with ſome of our Forces, who were forraging for Proviſions and Horſe-meat; he ſur-

ſurprized and defeated them; their manner of Fighting being to take and leave as they find advantage, which they do with very active and quick Force and Reſolution; but the *Engliſh* were not long before they requited him, and revenged the injury upon ſome of his adventurous Stragglers; after which he freely entred into, and finiſhed a Treaty of Peace with them: And the King not long after made it a free Port; and indowed it with all the Priviledges of a Merchant City, being very conveniently Scituated for Commerce and Trade, eſpecially in regard of the Security thereof.

The great diſcourſe and expectation at this time was, what the *Presbyterians* would do after the Act of Uniformity was paſt; which provided, that by St. *Bartholomews* day, their Miniſters ſhould renounce the Covenant, read Divine Service and Common-Prayer in Church Veſtments, as the Surpliſe, which was the main thing they pretended to

ſcrupie

cruple, or elſe forſake their Liv-
ngs.

Many endeavours there had been
ſed before to prevail with the Par-
ament for ſome Tolleration; but
ot being able to carry it there, they
fterward applyed themſelves to the
King and His Council; but upon
full Debate of their Petition, and
s full a hearing of what they had
o ſay; the buſineſs was laid aſide,
n regard there was none preſent,
who could anſwer and diſpute their
retences, for the Superſeding the
expreſs meaning of that Act. But
he Biſhop of *London*, by his Pru-
dence and foreſight had provided
Pious and able Miniſters to ſucceed
them in their Cures; and for the
better ſecurity of the publick Peace
for times to come, the Commiſſioners
for regulating Corporations, beſides
the diſplacing ſuch Officers as were
ill affected, ordered the Walls of
ſuch Townes and Cities, as had been
the reception of, and maintained the
late Rebellion, to be demoliſhed as
examples and ſecurity to ſucceeding
Ages,

Ages, *viz. Glocester, Coventry, Northampton, Taunton*, and *Leicester*, which was done accordingly.

And the Town of *Dunkirk*, which was taken from the *Spaniards* by *Cromwell*, and had ever since been kept at a vaſt charge; was now alſo by the Advice of His Council, in regard it had never been Annext by Act of Parliament to the Crown of *England*, returned to the *French* King, upon the valuable Conſideration of *Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds*.

And there having been great talk, and long ſuſpicion of a Plot, ſecretly carryed on againſt the Government, inſomuch that the moſt part of that Summer the Trained-Bands had watcht every night; the deſign now appeared, being carryed on by *Ludlow*, *Danvers*, *Lockyer*, *Strange*, and others, for the overthrowing of the Government; in order whereunto they were to have ſeized the Tower, *Deal*-Caſtle, and other places of Strength; and were

to

o have had the word given them he night they were to have fallen n, which was the laſt of *October*, by *George Phillips* a Serjeant in the Colonels Company of the White Reiment. But being diſcovered by ne of their number, they were nany of them taken, and by ſufcient Witneſſes Convicted of the Conſpiracy, four whereof, *viz. Phillips*, *Tongue*, *Gibbs* and *Stubbs* were Executed according to Sentence, and he reſt pardoned by the King, who lwayes loved to mix Mercy with his Executions.

The Emperour of *Ruſſia* about this ime ſent hither a very Splendid Embaſſy, by three of his Chief Princes, one whereof came ſome time before the other, and had Audience f the King in Private at *Hampon-Court*; they were received in greater State, than any Ambaſſadors had been, that Arrived before them; he whole Military Force of the City being in Arms, and ſeveral f the Companies in their Liveries, nd the Aldermen with their Gold Chains,

Chaines, riding before them. They had about thirty Servants, that rode on Horseback with Hawks on their fists, as Presents.

And being Conducted on the *New-Years-Day* following, to their Audience at *White-Hall*, they delivered their Presents, which were very rich, consisting of Furs, Beavers, Ermins, and the like, together with *Persian* Carpets, three *Persian* Horses, *Argamarick*, and other Commodities of that Country, as Damasks, Silks, and Embroderies, and a whole Ship load of Hemp; there were likewise of the same nature, sent from the Empress to the Queen, and from the Prince of *Russia*; all which were received with that affection and kindness, which the King discovered upon all occasions toward that great and Potent Monarch.

The King having ordered the Earl of *Rothes* to succeed *Middleton* as Chief Commissioner in *Scotland*, went in the Vacation time on Progress Westward from *London* to *Bath*

Bath, and from thence through *Glocester-Shire* to *Oxford*, being presented at *Reading*, and *Newbury* with Purses of Gold, and receiving where-ever he came, very high and Splendid Entertainments.

At *Oxford*, He was met half a Mile from the City, by the Doctors and Schollars in their Formalities; and upon His entring the Subburbs by the *Militia* of that City, through which he passed to his Lodgings.

During his stay there, he visited the Schollars, and was Nobly Entertained: But not long after His return, notwithstanding all those Provisions for peace, he was informed of a Plot discovered in the North, to involve his Subjects in a War again, which was to have begun first in *Ireland*, and so to have been brought into *England*, and several of the Conspirators being taken, he sent down a Commission to *York* in the midst of Winter to try them; Fifteen whereof were found Guilty, the

the Chief of them was Captain *Oates*; and ſhortly after divers more were arraigned, the chief whereof were *Cotton*, *Denham*, and *Atkins*; ſome of them were executed at *York*, ſome at *Leeds*, and ſome at other places; nor wanted they ſome in *London*, to abett and favour their deſignes, by Libels and ſuch like Methods, for which a Printer was Apprehended, Tryed and Execued, and others pilloryed and Fined.

The *Dutch* having notwithſtanding all their great pretences of Love and Friendſhip to the King, been guilty of many Injuries, and depredations to the *Engliſh* Nation; the King and Parliament in the following Spring, took into their Conſideration, the many Complaints that were made againſt them; and both Houſes Petitioned the King to take a ſpeedy and effectual courſe for the redreſſing thereof, promiſing to aſſiſt him therein with their Lives and Fortunes. But he alwayes preferring Peace before War, when it may be had

had upon Honourable Conditions reſolv'd to ſee what he could do with them by fair means, before he let things come to extremity, and therefore by his Agent there demanded ſatisfaction for the injuries done by them: But that ſubtle people not willing to return a ſpeedy anſwer, reſolved to ſend their own Embaſſadour into *England*; which, as it was a way of anſwering more Magnificent, ſo it occaſioned the greater delay of time, which was the thing they chiefly aim'd at, that ſo they might be the better able to entertain War, when they had made proviſions for it: And he being ſenſible of their drift therein, thought it not convenient for him to be altogether idle, and therefore reſolved ſo to order his Affairs, as to be in as good a readineſs as they, whenſoever the War ſhould commence. To which end he required the City, to lend him *One Hundred Thouſand Pound*, referring them to the Lord Treaſurer for Terms of Repayment; which Requeſt was receiv'd with ſuch a

dutiful compliance by the Common-Council, that it was preſently granted, thereby acquitting themſelves at once, both in point of Loyalty and Prudence, by ſerving the KINGS preſent Neceſſity, and providing for their own future Safety. This Money he imploy'd in fitting out two conſiderable Fleets: and intending to employ Sir *John Lawſon*, who then blockt up *Argier*, and ſome of the Ships under his Command therein, he commanded his Return for *England*; Captain *Allen* being ordered to ſucceed him there; who brought theſe Pirates into ſuch diſtreſs, that ſhortly after they were forc'd to accept of Peace upon terms advantageous enough for *England*.

The *Dutch* Embaſſadour propounding ſuch conditions as were not to be accepted, he ſent back Sir *George Downing* thither, with full Inſtructions how to behave himſelf towards them; who had upon his Arrival ſeveral Conferences with the States, about Satisfaction for Damages received but could not prevail with them

them to return a poſitive Anſwer to any thing he propounded, nor come to any terms of Agreement: which they were the more willing to delay, in regard they expected the ſpeedy Arrival of a vaſt Treaſure in ſeveral great Fleets of Merchants Ships. But this being not unknown to him, and he being a Prince that well enough underſtood, how ſtrong the Nerve of War, Money, was, reſolved to way-lay thoſe vaſt Maſſes of Wealth as they paſt homeward through his own Channel, eſpecially being informed by ſecret Intelligence, that they were reſolved in contempt of his Power to ſend their *Guiney* Preparations by Sea, and that *Opdam* ſhould convey them through the Channel. To which end and purpoſe, that he might be beforehand with them in their preparations, he endeavoured with all imaginable ſpeed and diligence to make his Navy ready, not ſparing to overſee and order things with indefatigable painesand

induſtry in his own Royal Perſon, which was abundantly anſwered by the ſucceſs. For ſuch was the Alacrity of his Subjects when they ſaw him continually Travelling from place to place, to forward the work, and ſee all things effectually and ſpeedily performed, encouraging them by his Preſence; that the City at the very firſt mention of it by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, [Chamberlain of His Houſehold,] ſupplyed him with a ſecond Loan of *One Hundred Thouſand Pounds.*

By which means, while the *Dutch* flattered themſelves with ſuppoſitions of his want of Men and Money, and his being broken with the Calamities of the Raging Peſtilence (which happened about this time, and was the ſevereſt that ever was known in *England*,) they were only forced to look on and with Envy behold his Vigorous preparations, and ſee the Sea covered with ſuch a Magnificent Navy, as the Ocean had ſcarcely ever ſupported in any

any former Age. However having duely conſidered the dangers of the Northern paſſage, they ſeemingly laid aſide all thoughts of going about by *Scotland*, and continued firm to their former Reſolution of forcing their paſſage though the Channel. In order whereunto, having Re-victualled *Opdams* Fleet, they commanded him to haſten to Sea, with the firſt Wind, and conduct the *Guiney* - Succors through the Channel, having ordered ſome other Ships from the *Vlie* and *Texel* to Joyn with him, and ſent a Galliot before to give notice to their Director General, in *Guinea* of their Proceedings therein. Which Reſolution taken and carryed on with ſo much Vigour, moſt men Imagin'd to have been extorted from them by the exigency of their preſent condition; for they had ſcattered many baſe contempts upon the King and Subjects of *England*. Nor was the Iſſue of that Bravado, other than what their Fears preſented: For about the

middle of *October*, Prince *Rupert* appeared at the *Spitt-Head* with ſixteen Saile of Ships, who was not long after joyned by the Duke, then Lord High Admiral of *England*, and the Earl of *Sandwich*; ſo that it was a matter of the greateſt difficulty and hazard for them to unlock the narrow Seas. And great diſpute there was amongſt them, whether *Opdam*, who lay with his Fleet in the *Gore*, ſhould adventure out or no; but the Wind continuing croſs put an end to that diſpute, and furniſht them with a plauſible excuſe for their not appearing at Sea upon ſo great diſadvantages as they would in all probability have met withall: However Prince *Rupert* kept the Sea with the *Engliſh* Fleet to attend their Motion, and was rewarded by all or moſt of their *Bourdeaux* Fleet falling into his hands, which with other Prizes taken that Year by the *Engliſh*, amounted to about *One Hundred Thirty Five*.

There

There having been as yet no Publick Declaration of War on either ſide; the King ſtill continued to Treat for Peace, with His Arms in His Hand, and ordered Sir *George Downing* to preſs, in the heat of all that preparation and action, for ſatisfaction of Damages: And finding that they were not like to be brought to ſuch terms as he expected, and knowing that it would mightily advance his Credit, and ſtrike Terror into his Enemies to be alway before hand with them, he cauſed an *Embargo* to be laid upon their Ships, with ſo much Secrecy, that His Embaſſadour there had notice of it, at leaſt eight dayes before the States, that ſo he might give ſecret Intelligence to the *Engliſh*, and haſten their departure; by which means, when their *Embargo* came, it found only two ſmall inconſiderable Veſſels, and an Oyſter Boat to ſeize. And the King acquainting the Parliament (which met

in *November*,) how unkindly he had been Treated by the *Dutch*, and what preparations he had thereupon made for War, and telling them he had out of his own Credit ſet forth a Navy, which he was ſure would not decline meeting with all the Power of the *Dutch*; for the Finiſhing where of, he had borrowed ſo liberally out of his own ſtores, and of the City of *London*, that to diſcharge the one, and repleniſh the other, would require little leſs then *Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; They to demonſtrate their Love and Affection to their Soveraign, and how hearty they were in their Reſolutions to ſupport His Honour, and their Countries Rights againſt Forreign Encroachments; gave him more then thrice that Summ in an Act Entituled, An Act for granting a Royal Aide of *Twenty four Thouſand Threeſcore and Seventeen Thouſand and Five Hundred Pounds*. And finding that the *Dutch* did but trifle with him, in hopes of gaining time, he reſolved

ſolved to forbear them no longer, and therefore in the *February* following denounc'd War againſt them by a Publick Declaration, prohibiting all Manufactures coming from thence, and granting Letters of Reprizal to divers of his injured Subjects. And to increaſe his Fleet, a Peace being now made, both with *Gayland* and the *Algerines*, he commanded his Ships in thoſe parts to return home, and with moſt indefatigable diligence Journeying himſelf from Port to Port, to haſten his preparations and encourage the Seamen by his preſence, he got his Fleet ready to take the Sea by the 25*th.* of *March*, which did not a little terrifie the *Hollander*, who had been the Week before put into a very great diſorder and conſternation upon the appearance only of a ſmall part of the *Engliſh* Navy under the Earl of *Sandwich.*

That his preparations for War might meet with their deſired ſucceſs,

ceſs, the bleſſing of God, who is the Lord of Navies as well as of Hoſts, was implored by a general Faſt enjoyned by Proclamation, and obſerved with Reverence ſuitable to the Solemnity of the occaſion, which was anſwered with the happy Omens of future Victory, from the fair ſucceſs of ſmaller enterpriſes, three of their Men of War being ſhortly after taken.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, who as Lord High Admiral of *England* commanded that Fleet, growing impatient of the *Hollanders* ſtay, reſolved to give them a viſit upon their own Coaſt, and *One Hundred and Fourteen* Saile of Ships made for the *Texel*, within five Leagues of which place he came to an Anchor, where he took a full view of their Fleet, ſome of the ſmalleſt of his Ships running within two Leagues of the Shore: and ſome few dayes after, he ſhewed himſelf before the Mouth of their Harbour,

bour; which gave them ſo great an Allarum that they preſently erected Beacons all along the Coaſts to give notice if he ſhould make any attempt to Land. He ſtayd ſomewhat longer then he intended, in hope to provoke them to come out and engage; but not ſuceeding therein, he commanded ſeven of his Ships to ſaile in queſt of a Fleet of Merchant-men, who were then coming home from *Bourdeaux*, and had certainly fallen into their hands, had not a great fogg which aroſe about that time prevented it: however, ten of them were taken, and as many more at ſeveral times afterward.

However the *Dutch* finding their Embaſſadors in *Swedeland* and *Denmark* able to effect little, meeting with Ceremonious entertainments, but no Aſſiſtance, reſolved to ſhew their own ſtrength; and their Navy appeared upon the Ocean in all its Glory and Splendor, divided into ſeven Squadrons, being in

in all about *One Hundred and Three* Men of War, *Eleven* Fire-Ships, and ſeven Yatches: About which time the *Engliſh* ſuffered ſome loſs; for their *Hamburgh* Fleet deſiring a Convoy of the Duke, when he lay before the *Texel*, he ſent them ſome Ships for their Conduct and Security, with a Caution, that if they were not ready to Saile within ten dayes, they ſhould not after that time adventure to Sea; but the ten dayes being over before they could get ready, and the Ketch ordered by him to give them notice of his removal from the *Texel* miſſing them, they adventured to Sea, contrary to his Inſtructions and Orders, and ſo fell into the Enemies hands. But that loſs was abundantly compenſated by the Victory which ſoon after enſued, wherein the *Dutch* loſt eighteen of their beſt Ships which were taken by the *Engliſh*, beſides ten more which were ſunk and burnt. Which ill ſucceſs cauſed many diſorders and complaints among the Common Peo-

People in *Holland*; for the appeasing whereof, and the revenging themselves upon their Officers, that were accus'd of Cowardise, or ill management in that Engagement, they questioned several of them for their Lives, and caused three of their Captains to be Executed at the Helder, two to have their Swords broken over their heads, and the Vice-Admiral *Cortinaer* to stand upon a Scaffold with a Halter about his neck.

But the Joy of this Victory was somewhat allayed by the Sickness which now began to grow very hot in *London* and its Subburbs; insomuch that the Queen Mother, to avoid its Fury returned to *France*, being attended to the *Kentish* Coast by the King, who having taken his leave of her, went on board the Royal *Charles*, where he Knighted several Captaines, that behaved themselves Valiantly against the *Dutch*, and afterward visited most of the Flagg Ships, giving all necessary

ceſſary directions for the repairing and refitting out the Fleet, and ſo returned by Water to *Greenwich*; from thence to *Hampton* Court, and afterward to *Salisbury*: But the Plague increaſing in *London*, ſo that it was dangerous returning thither, he repaired to *Oxford*, which proved ſo happy a Receptacle for him, that notwithſtanding the vaſt concourſe of People which reſorted to his Court the approaching Parliament, and the *Term* which was likewiſe kept there; the place Continued in health, and was not in the leaſt viſited with that Diſtemper that then raged in *London*, and ſome other parts of the Kingdom. At this place was made that Law which is commonly known by the name of the *Five-Mile Act*, forbidding all ſuch Diſſenting Miniſters as would not take the Oath, and make the Declaration and Abhorrency therein provided, to live within five Miles of any Corporation, thereby the better to prevent the ſpreading of their Infection,

fection, and encreasing the number of their Proselites. The Oath and Declaration, being as follows, *viz.*

J. A. B. **Do Declare, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence Whatsoever to take up Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against His Person by His Commission, Or those that are Commissioned by Him in pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government either in Church or State.**

But tho during the time of that Visitation, he remov'd His Court to *Oxford*, yet for the security of that City, and that he might not be thought wholly

wholly to withdraw his beams from her diſconſolate Walls; He left there the Duke of *Albemarle*, who in all the heat of the Diſtemper continued at *White-Hall*, with a Courage equal to his Dignity. And knowing that as the Affliction came from the hand of Heaven, ſo none but the Almighty was able to mittigate or remove it, He commanded by Proclamation a general Faſt to be obſerv'd throughout the whole Kingdom, for the confeſſing and bewailing thoſe ſins that had brought that heavy Judgment upon the City, and by Prayers and Supplications implore the Divine Goodneſs for the removal thereof; commanding his Biſhops to direct and Publiſh ſuch forms of Prayer, as were moſt ſuitable not only for the Service of that Particular day, but likewiſe of all the ſucceeding *Wedneſdays*, ſo long as the Contagion ſhould laſt; having commanded that day in every week to be obſerved as a Faſt for the removal of that deſolating diſtemper, according to the Apoſtle's Rule, praying alwayes and with all manner of Prayer.

The

The *Engliſh* Fleet having now repaired their Dammages, and ſeveral of the *Dutch* Prizes being fitted for Service, put to Sea again, and ſtood over for the *Holland*-Coaſt; the alarum whereof brought back *Bankert*, who had been about three Weeks at Sea with ſome of their Ships, and cauſed them to make *de Ruyter*, after his long expected arrival from the *Weſt*, Admiral of their Fleet. But the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Drums (who then likewiſe threatned them with a War) ſounding in their Ears, almoſt as terribly as the *Engliſh* Cannon, made them order a flying Army to the Frontiers, tho' with little ſatisfaction to the fearful Inhabitants, who daily fled to the fortified Towns for their ſecurity.

In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Fleet, in three Squadrons, ſailed towards *Norway*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* having notice, that fifty *Hollanders* had ſheltred themſelves in *Berghen*, ſent a Squadron of twenty two Men of War, under the Command of *Tyddeman*, to attack and fire them in the Harbour; which Enterpriſe had proved very fatal, had not the Wind befriended them, and the *Dane* permitted them

to plant their Guns on ſhore, againſt the reſolute *Engliſh*; however, they received very great dammages, and had many of their beſt Ships in that Harbour diſſabled; And the Earl himſelf meeting with a Convoy of theirs, who had ſeveral Merchants, and ſome *East-India* men in his Company, attacked them with ſo much reſolution, that notwithſtanding the ſtorminess of the Weather did much favour them, yet he took Eight of their Men of War, two of their beſt *East-India* Ships, and twenty Sail of their Merchants; and ſome few days after, the Fleet encountering with eighteen Sail of the Enemy, took the greateſt part of them, with above one thouſand Priſoners. However, the *French* King, ſuppoſing the Ballance of Affairs not yet even enough, and affecting a Sovereignty in the *Mediterranean*-Sea, not only continued his friendſhip to them, but, in their behalf, declared War likewiſe againſt *England*, upon pretence of ſuccouring them, according to the Conditions of the Treaty in 1662; which Declaration the King, who, altho' he was as great a lover of Peace, as any Prince in the World, yet being pro-

provoked, would not be behind hand with his Enemies, ſoon returned with the like denunciation of War againſt him; proteſting, that he was reſolved to proſecute that War againſt *France*, with his utmoſt force by Land and Sea: And it was admirable to behold the cheerfulneſs and alacrity wherewith the Maritine Countreys offered him their Service, upon their firſt receiving his Orders to put themſelves into a poſture of defence; but being unwilling to continue them under the trouble and charge of a needleſs Duty, he diſmiſs'd them for the preſent, and only ordered them to be ready, if there was occaſion.

The Peſtilence being now pretty well abated, he returned again to *London*, where he was joyfully received and welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; about which time eight perſons, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the Rebellion, were Indicted at the *Old-Bayly*, for conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Alteration of the Government; having, in his abſence from the City, plotted the ſurpriſal of the Tower, killing the General, *Robinſon* and *Brown*; and

then, according to their old levelling humour, to have declared for an equal diviſion of Lands: The better to effect which Deſign of theirs, the City was to have been fired, the Portcullices to have been let down, to keep out all aſſiſtance, and the Horſe-guards to have been ſurpriſed in their Quarters; the Tower having been viewed by them, and its ſurpriſal ordered by Boats over the Moat, and ſo to ſcale the Wall. One *Alexander* was the chief Conſpirator, having diſtributed ſeveral Sums of Money amongſt them; and he told them, for their encouragement, of ſeveral great ones, that ſat continually in *London*, and iſſued out all neceſſary Orders; which Counſel, he ſaid, received their Directions from another in *Holland*, who ſat with the States: The third of *September* being found, by a Scheme erected for that purpoſe, a lucky Day, a Planet then ruling, whoſe direful effects, portended the downfal of Monarchy, was pitch'd upon for the Attempt: They were found guilty of High Treaſon, and executed at *Tyburn*.

Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, being made joynt Generals at Sea,

Sea, for that Summer's Expedition, divided the Fleet; the Prince commanding the blew Squadron, wherewith he ſailed toward *France*, upon intimation that the *French* were haſting to joyn the *Dutch* Fleet, and the Duke the other two, who meeting the *Hollanders*, on *Friday*, about 4 or 5 Leagues from the *North Foreland*, couragiouſly attacked them, notwithſtanding he had not above half their number, bravely maintaining the Fight two days, and part of the third, when he had been hardly put to it, had not the Prince, hearing the Guns, tacked about, and made towards him. Upon his approach, *de Ruyter* ſent out 30 ſtout Ships, to intercept him, and prevent his joyning the Duke; but avoiding them, he haſtened forward, and ſent *Albemarle* word, that if he liked the deſign, he would keep the wind of them, and engage the 30 Ships *de Ruyter* had ſent againſt him; but the Duke not liking his purpoſe, adviſed him rather to joyn the Fleet, which he did, and the approaching night, ſoon after put an end to their farther proceedings. And the next morning, ſo ſoon as it grew light, they perceived the *Dutch* to be fled, and gotten almoſt

out of ſight, St. *Georges Chanel* having proved too dangerous and ſtormy for them; but making all the ſail they could, they purſued them, and the Prince with his freſh Squadron, falling in with them, with an undaunted courage and bravery, paſs'd five ſeveral times through the whole Body of their Fleet; ſo that not able longer to endure it, with all the ſail they could make, they began to run, and ſheltred themſelves in their ſhallows. But both Fleets having repaired their dammages, got out to Sea again, and meeting ſoon after, begun a ſecond Engagement, no leſs bloody than the former, both ſides fighting with all the Courage and Valour, that could be expected from the moſt inveterate and enraged Enemies, *de Ruyter* reſolving to revenge his loſt diſgrace, and recover, if poſſible, his loſt honour; and the Prince, to maintain his former, by obtaining a ſecond Victory; They began to fight about Nine in the Morning, pouring Broad-ſides upon each other, with ſuch fury, that the roaring Canon ſeemed to outvy the Thunder, and the Smoak clouded the Sun, and rendred the Air more dark and diſmal,

than

than was black *Munday*. There might have been ſeen the Heads of ſome, the Arms, Leggs and Thighs, of others, ſhot off; ſome divided in the middle with Chain-ſhot, breathing out their laſt in anguiſh and pain, or burning in Fired Ships: whilſt others, expoſed to the mercy of the Liquid Element, implored pity from their very Enemies, whom they intreated to ſave their Lives, although with the loſs of their Liberties. But in the midſt of all thoſe deplorable miſeries, the ſurvivers fought with as much reſolution and fury as ever; their Courage and Valour being rather heightned than daunted thereby: For which Victories, a ſolemn thanksgiving was obſerved throughout the whole Nation.

But to abate the joy of the *Engliſh*, *London* which had flouriſhed throughout ſo many Ages, and been accounted one of the goodlieſt Cities in the World, was about this time deſtroyed, and burnt down to the ground, by a moſt dreadful fire; which began on *Sunday*, *September* the ſecond, about two in the morning, 1666. a Year that, in regard of its agreement with the number of the Beaſt mentioned in the *Revelations*,

had filled all Men with great expectations of ſome memorable accident that would fall out therein: many eminent Writers having, with more confidence than truth, Predicted the fall of *Antichriſt*, and the utter ruin and deſolation of *Rome*, which they affirmed to be the Apocalyptical *Babylon*. It began at a Bakers Houſe, in *Pudding-Lane* near new *Fiſhſtreet*, a place very cloſe, and for the moſt part conſiſting of old Timber Houſes, which burned like ſo many pitch'd Barrels; whereby it ſpread it ſelf with ſuch an impetuous and irreſiſtable fury, that notwithſtanding all endeavours to extinguiſh it, it extended it ſelf to all the ſeveral quarters of the City, and by *Wedneſday* night conſumed that goodly Pile: The King and the Duke, during all that time, riding from place to place, and by their perſonal care and labour, encouraging all Men to attempt the putting a ſtop to its fury and rage, which was at laſt happily performed at the *Temple*-Church, *Pye-Corner*, *Holborn-Bridg*, *Alderſgate*, *Cripplegate*, at the Church in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, at *Cloathworkers-Hall* in *Mincing-Lane*, in the middle of *Mark-Lane*, the lower end of *Coleman-ſtreet*, the upper

upper end of *Biſhopsgate-ſtreet*, and at the *Tower-Dock*. But on *Thurſday* in the evening, it unfortunately broke out again at the *Temple*, by the accidental falling of ſome ſparks upon a Pile of Timber Buildings, and might have done much more harm, had not the Duke, who watch'd there in Perſon all that night, and ſo encouraged the People with his preſence, that by blowing up the Houſes about it, it was extinguiſh'd before day. It conſumed, according to the beſt computation of Surveyers employed by the King for that purpoſe, 373 Acres of Buildings within the Walls, and more than 63 Acres without the Walls, 87 Pariſh-Churches, ſix Conſecrated Chappels, the Royal *Exchange*, the *Guild-Hall*, and many other ſtately Buildings belonging to the ſeveral Companies, and, according to the beſt account, about 13000 and 200 Houſes: the total ſum, of which loſs, was valued at nine Millions, and nine hundred thouſand pound Sterling.

In ſo deplorable and amazing an accident, it is not difficult to imagine how many Perſons were conſtrained, in haſt and confuſion, to remove their Goods into the Fields, and take up their Lodgings

ings in the open Air; which gave the King (whose heart was ever open to compassionate the distress and miseries of his Subjects) an opportunity of exercising his commiseration, by commanding the Justices of the Peace to send Provisions into the Markets, and opening his Sea-stores for the supplying of the poor and necessitous.

The Fire, happening at a time when *England* was engaged in a War with *France* and *Holland*, was thought, by many, to be a treacherous Act contriv'd and perpetrated by the *French*, which some were the more induc'd to believe, in regard one *Hubert*, a melancholly *Frenchman*, confest he did the fact, by putting a Fire-ball into the House of the Baker where it began. And *Oates*, the Discoverer of the *Salamanca* Plot, lays the guilt of that action, upon a knot of *Jesuites* and *Irish-men*; who having laid the project long before, could not put it in execution 'till that time: notwithstanding which [for we are not to believe all that the Doctor has been pleas'd to swear] it is uncertain, to this day, whether some casual accident, or the malice of those who envied the happiness and grandeur of that City,

were

were the immediate occaſions of it. But however it were, it was permitted by Heaven for a Puniſhment, of its Pride, Luxury and Rebellion.

London being thus conſumed and laid in Aſhes, the grieved Inhabitants look'd upon its Rebuilding as ſo weighty and ponderous an undertaking, that they deſpaired of ever living to ſee it begun, much leſs finiſhed, and therefore took Houſes, in the out-parts, at vaſt Rents and Fines, and for a long term of Years. Nor might their fears have been altogether groundleſs, had it happened in a time leſs happy and fortunate: but living in a Reign of Wonders, they found, contrary to all mens expectations, that it ſuddenly ſtarted up rather than was gradually built, in far more ſplendour and beauty than ever it was before. And that fire, wherein all their happineſs ſeemed to have been for ever buried, proved a real advantage, by reaſon of that provident care which was thereupon taken by the King, to prevent ſuch fatal accidents for the future, by commanding all the buildings, which were for the moſt part before of Timber, to be now made of Brick or Stone; and ſo contrived, that if a Fire happened

ed in any of them, it might be hem'd in, within the Walls of that particular Houſe, without indangering the adjoyning Buildings, by putting the Inhabitants of each Pariſh, and divers principal Merchants and Gentlemen, that live in that City, upon providing greater plenty of large and hand Engines, Buckets, and other ſuch like things neceſſary for the quenching of Fires; And by making Men more expert in the methods of ſtopping the progreſs of any Fires that ſhall happen for the future; and finally, by putting ſeveral ingenious Perſons upon contriving and ſetting up an Office, for the Enſuring of Houſes from being deſtroyed by fire for thirty one years, at five pence *per* pound for Brick Houſes, and ten pence *per* pound for Timber Houſes, which is to be diſcounted by way of purchaſe, and five years only paid down for eight; ſeven for twelve; nine and one half for twenty one; eleven for thirty one years Inſurance: ſo that it is in reality but little more than three pence *per* pound for Brick Houſes, and ſix pence *per* pound for Timber Houſes, only requiring ten pounds in Mony to be paid to the Inſurers toward the

the defraying of their Charges in Re-building the Houſe ſo often as it ſhall happen to be burnt down, within the term enſured. And becauſe many Perſons take Leaſes of Houſes for different terms of Years, they do not tye any Perſon to Inſure for thirty one, but ſo many Years only as themſelves pleaſe, ſetling ſeveral Ground Rents, and making other ſufficient Proviſions for the ſecurity of the Subſcribers. This Office they ſetled in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, in the back-ſide of the Royal Exchange, and it is certainly one of the greateſt deſigns that any Age hath ever produced, and will prove more univerſally advantagious than was at firſt believed, the ſevere ſtroaks falling more light on particular Perſons now, than in former Ages, in regard they are, by vertue of this contrivance, ſupported by a publick ſtock, & thoſe whoſe houſes eſcape, made by that means, to contribute toward the repairing of thoſe that are burned.

In order to the re-building *London*, the King, according to his accuſtomed Wiſdom, foreſeeing it would otherwiſe be impoſſible to have it uniform, and decide the Controverſies which would ariſe about dividing the Ground belong-

belonging to each Houſe, and oblige the Repairers to build with Brick or Stone, provided an Act of Parliament, for the ſetling all things in relation thereunto, and the erecting a Court of Judicature, to judge and determin all Differences that might ariſe between Party and Party; prohibiting in the mean time the haſty building any publick Edifices, and proclaiming a general Faſt through *England* and *Wales*, ordering the diſtreſſes of thoſe who were ruined thereby to be then recommended to the Charity of all well-diſpoſed perſons; and the Money ſo gathered, to be afterward diſtributed by the hands of the Lord Mayor. The Act was paſs'd in the approaching Parliament; wherein, beſides the proviſion for the building the Houſes of Brick or Stone, it was enacted, That the moſt eminent Streets ſhould be of a conſiderable breadth; and thoſe toward the Water-ſides, wide enough to render Paſſages convenient; that a fair Wharf ſhould be left all along the River's-ſide, and no Houſes built thereon, but at a convenient diſtance appointed therein; none whereof were

to

to be inhabited by Dyers, Brewers, or Sugar-Bakers: And that an exact Survey ſhould be made of the Ruins, for the ſatisfaction of particular Intereſts, and a Model framed of the whole Building, the better to underſtand if it were convenient for them to appoint any alterations therein.

And to ſhew his Pious Care for the Rebuilding of the Churches for the Service of God, as well as Houſes for his Subjects to dwell in, he recommended that Work to the Charity and magnanimous Bounty of publick ſpirited Perſons; and for an encouragement to others, promiſed to Rebuild the Cuſtom-houſe, and Enlarge it for the Benefit of Merchants, at his own Charge, which he afterward performed, engaging to part with all his Right and Benefit ariſing from his own Lands within the City; for the Publick Good, and to remit the Duties ariſing from Hearth-Money, to thoſe who ſhould Erect any New Buildings, according to his Declaration, for Seven Years: And to demonſtrate his Reſolution to perform whatſoever he had promiſed in his Declaration,

claration, commanded one *Knight* to be committed to Priſon, for preſuming to Print certain Propoſitions for the Rebuilding the City, with conſiderable Advantages to the Crown, which were repugnant to his gracious Offers in that Declaration.

So that *London* being aſhamed to lye longer ſmothered under Aſhes, when all thoſe Proviſions were made for its Reſurrection, was by Sir *Jonas Moore*, according to the appointed Model, firſt rouſed in *Fleet-ſtreet*; and from that beginning, grew ſo haſtily towards a perfection, that within the compaſs of a few years, it outvyed all its ancient Glory and Splendour, and appeared far more beautiful in its riſe, than its fall had rendred it abject and deſolate.

But the burning of *London* was not the only unhappy Accident that fell out in that Year of Wonders; for the Fire, which had laid the City in Aſhes, threatned the Court with the like diſſolation; for having, by the misfortune of a Candle falling into the ſtraw, violently ſeized upon the Horſe-Guard, in the *Tilt-Yard*, over againſt *White-Hall*, it burned down

down the North-Weſt part of that Building, but being ſo cloſe under the King's own eye, it was by timely help in a little time maſtered: And at a place called *Welbourn*, in *Lincoln*-ſhire, after a prodigious Thunder, with Hail-ſtones of a more than ordinary bigneſs, there followed ſuch a Storm and Tempeſt, that its violence threw down moſt of the Houſes to the ground, tore up Trees by the Roots, and diſperſing ſeveral Ricks of Corn and Hay, paſſed to the next Village, called *Willington*, where it threw down firm Houſes, and going forward to *Nanby*, it fell ſo violently upon the Church, that it daſh'd the Spire in pieces, and ſo tore and rent the Body of the Church, that it almoſt levelled it with the ground. And that *Scotland* might likewiſe bear a ſhare in that Year's Calamities, a Seditious Zeal, having inſpired ſome Malecontents, with revenge againſt Sir *James Turner*, for executing (too vigorouſly, as they pretended) the Laws againſt them, they committed an inſolent Ryot upon his perſon, taking him out of his Bed, and carrying him naked into the Market-place, where

they were hardly reſtrained from cutting him in pieces, which Tumult was firſt raiſed by a ſmall and an inconſiderable Rabble, but in a ſhort time increaſed to a Body of One thouſand ſix hundred Men, who marching toward *Edenburgh*, were encountred and defeated near *Glencarn*, many of them being ſlain, and more taken; the Ring-leaders whereof were executed, and moſt of the reſt pardoned.

But in the midſt of all theſe unhappy Diſtractions, he did not neglect the making all neceſſary Preparations for carrying on and maintaining his War with *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*; the latter whereof was now entered into a League offenſive and defenſive with the States of the *United Provinces*, upon pretence of the Aſſault made upon the *Dutch*, in his Port of *Berghen*, although he had the freedom of that Port frankly offered him by the King of *Denmark* himſelf, at a time when he thought nothing of it; and that in order to the doing thoſe very Acts of Hoſtility, wherewith he was then unjuſtly reproach'd by that King, as he declared in

in his Declaration of War againſt *Denmark*, publiſhed about that time; And for a good *Omen* of his future ſucceſs, he not long after his Declaration of War, received News, that the Vice-Admiral of *Denmark* was taken by ſome of his Frigots, upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*.

However, the King of *Sweden* having become a Mediator for Peace, between him, and the *States-General*, and prevailed with him to condeſcend thereunto, and appoint *Breda* for the place of Treaty; the *Dutch*, notwithſtanding, buſied themſelves in making Preparations for continuing the War, reſolving to treat of Peace, in a poſture and condition to fight, if it ſucceeded not, and (he not being ignorant of their intentions) to make him ſpend that Summer in needleſs Expences for War, and only keep himſelf upon his own guard. But we having therefore but a ſmall Fleet abroad, the *Dutch*, upon intimation thereof, got out to Sea betimes, and finding no Enemy to reſiſt them, made an attempt on *Burnt Iſland*, but being beaten off with loſs, they next attempted the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, which being then a

place of ſmall force, was after a ſhort, but ſtout reſiſtance, abandoned by Sir *Edward Spragg*, and ſo the Mouth of that narrow River was left open to them: And being encouraged by this ſucceſs, they landed about three thouſand men near *Felton*-Cliff, and with two thouſand of them adventured to make two Aſſaults upon *Languard*-Fort, but were beaten off, and forced to retire in ſuch haſte, that they left their Scaling-Ladders behind them, and had about one hundred and fifty ſlain upon the place; the other thouſand, which were left behind the Cliff, to ſecure their retreat, being encountered by the Trained-bands, under the Command of the Earl of *Suffolk*, a ſmart Skirmiſh paſs'd between them, and continued till Ten at Night, when it was renewed again by the return of the beaten Companies from the Fort; but the *Engliſh* Horſe not being able to come up, there was not that execution done upon them, which otherwiſe might have been. However, the *Dutch* lik'd not that hot Service well enough, to abide their coming, but as ſoon as their Boats were afloat, embarqued with all

all haſte, and returned to their Ships, and ſailing for the *Humber*, they engaged a Squadron of the *Engliſh*, which they found there; but being worſted, ſhewed themſelves before *Portſmouth*, and made ſome ſlight Attempts in *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*: And after *de Ruyter*, their Admiral had been civily treated in the *Weſt*, by the Earl of *Bath*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, and received advice, that the Peace was concluded, they ſailed back for *Holland*.

This Peace was concluded at *Breda*, upon the twenty firſt of *June*, in the Year 1667. when the Articles were ſigned by the ſeveral Plenipotentiaries, and upon the fourteenth of the following *Auguſt*, the Ratifications thereof interchanged, the Mediators firſt bringing the Ratifications and other Inſtruſtruments of the *Dutch*, *French* and *Danes*, into the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors Lodgings, and received theirs in exchange: which done, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors went into the apartments of the *Dutch* and their Allies, where they made and received the Compliments uſual in ſuch caſes, and the Peace

was thereupon immediately Proclaimed before the Doors of the ſeveral Plenipotentiaries; and on the twenty fourth of that Month at the *Exchange*, which was then kept at *Greſham* Colledge, and other places in *London*. But the Foundation of the *Royal Exchange*, in *Cornhil*, being about that time appointed to be laid, the King was pleaſed to ſhew his readineſs to countenance that Work, by being preſent at, and aſſiſting in the ſolemnity thereof, with his own Royal hands; as his Brother, the Duke of *York*, did, ſhortly after, who laid the firſt ſtone of the ſecond Pillar: which Edifice was in a ſhort time finiſhed, and is now the moſt curious Fabrick of that kind in the whole World.

About this time, that wiſe and uſeful States-man and Privy-Counſellor, *Edward Hide*, Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, who had always behaved himſelf with abundance of Loyalty and Faithfulneſs to his Maſter, as well before, as after his Reſtauration, falling into diſgrace with the Parliament, was forced to abſcond; and leaving that Office, which he had ſo long managed, with advantage to the King, and honour to himſelf, retired

red into *France*, where he lived in a voluntary Exile 'till he died.

A ſort of idle and licentious Perſons, getting together in the Holy-days at *Eaſter*, and pretending former cuſtom, took the liberty to pull down ſome Houſes of bad repute, about the Suburbs of *London*, under the notion of Apprentices; yet others being found guilty of it, four of them were apprehended, Tryed, Condemned and Executed, and two of their Heads ſet upon the Bridge for a terror to others.

Having diſpatch'd the Earl of *Carlile*, as his Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Sweden*, with which King he always maintained a friendly correſpondence, he directed a Letter for the Earl, when he was at *Copenhagen*, on his way to *Sweden*, to be by him delivered to the King of *Denmark*, in anſwer to an obliging Letter he had a little before received from him; which Letter of the King's, was ſo acceptable to the *Dane*, that upon the Earl's requeſt, he immediately diſpatch'd orders to all his Ports and Towns of commerce, eſpecially thoſe in *Norway*, for reſtoring the *Engliſh* to the ſame Freedom and Priviledges in Trading thi-

ther, as they had before the War. And the Earl, upon his arrival in *Sweden*, preſented that King with the *George* worn by the Knights of the Garter; and after his having been entertained in that Court with all imaginable reſpect, upon his Maſters account, and diſmiſs'd with particular marks of the King of *Sweden*'s favour, and teſtimonies of the acceptableneſs of his Embaſſie, he was, upon his return home, ſolemnly Inſtalled in that Order at *Windſor*.

While the King was diverting himſelf this Summer, with the Duke and others of his Nobles, in the new Forreſt in *Hampſhire*, he received the doleful tidings of his Mothers death at *Columbe*, the thirty firſt of *Auguſt*, ſhe being nobly buried, in the *December* following, at St. *Dennis*. And to cloſe the publick affairs of this Year, the reſtorer of the Crown to the King, and happineſs to the Kingdom, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, and Lord General of all the Kings Land Forces, exchanged his temporary Coronet for an Eternal Crown; and the King, as a mark of Gratitude to the Father, ſent his Garter to his Son and Succeſſor, the preſent Duke of *Albemarle*, whom he continued

tinued in many of his Honours and Preferments, promiſing withall, that himſelf would take care of his Fathers Funeral which he accordingly did: and after he had publickly lain in State at *Somerſet-Houſe* for ſome time, cauſed his Funeral to be ſolemnized with that Pomp and Splendor, that, it is verily believed, no Subject was ever honoured with the like.

In the following Spring, the King having a great deſire to unite *Scotland* and *England* into one Kingdom, endeavoured to have it accompliſh'd, by procuring an Act of Parliament, in order thereunto, and nominating Commiſſioners for each Kingdom, to meet and treat about it: But they not being able to agree, it was wholly laid aſide, and came to nothing.

The King's Wiſdom and Conduct being famed throughout all parts of the World, like a ſecond *Solomon*, drew to his Court ſeveral Foreign Princes, to ſee and admire him; And about this time the Prince of *Tuſcany* came upon the ſame Errand, and was by him treated both at *London* and *Windſor*, with great Reſpect and Splendour, and by ſeveral of his Nobles,

Nobles, in his Progreſs through *England*, the chief Cities whereof he was deſirous to take a view of; after which he departed for *Holland*, and ſo returned into his own Countrey: where, not long after, beſides his ſplendid Entertainment of the Earl of *Northumberland*, in acknowledgment of the King's Kindneſs and Affection expreſs'd to him, when in *England*, he built, and gave to the King, two very ſtout Galleys, for a guard of the Coaſt about *Tangier*, which were of great importance to his Service in thoſe parts. But altho' the King was well pleaſed with this Princes viſit, yet he ſhortly after received a more welcome one from his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, who came to *Dover*, to pay him her laſt Viſit, and was there entertained by him with as much Affection and Bounty, as the time of her ſtay (which was but ſhort) would permit. Nor was her ſtay in this World much longer; for ſoon after her return, ſhe died ſuddenly, to his unexpreſſible grief.

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The King being now at peace at home, employed his Naval Forces againſt the *Algerines*, a People that never keep Peace longer than till they can have an opportunity to break it: and they having taken ſome of our Merchants Ships, Sir *Thomas Allen* was ſent to revenge the Injury, who coming before the Town, they deſired a Treaty, offering to make reſtitution of what Money they had taken from an *Engliſh* Ship, bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*; but not agreeing to ſome other Demands, he reſolved to beat them into a complyance; and having ſeized a Barque, loaden with Corn, and a Brigantine, which rowed in the Harbour, in view of the Town, departed to *Tripoly*; the Baſſa of which place, ſent him an aſſurance of his readineſs and reſolution to preſerve a Peace, and continue a good Correſpondence with his Maſter: And the *Hampſhire*, *Portſmouth*, *Jerſey*, and *Centurion* Frigots, under the Command of Captain *Beach*, not long after meeting with Seven of the *Algerines*, notwithſtanding the leaſt of them had Thirty eight Guns, and were

were all full of Men, forced them to run their Ships on ſhore, which were all burned, two by themſelves, and the reſt by the *Engliſh*: in which Action moſt of their Men were loſt, and Two hundred and fifty Chriſtian Captives redeemed. But Sir *Thomas Allen*, after having made many Attempts upon thoſe Pyrates, whoſe Cowardize ſtill ſhun the Fight, returned home, and left Sir *Edward Spragg* to Command in his room; who meeting with Nine of their Men of War, and three Merchantmen, near *Bugia*, they retired, upon his appearance, under the ſhelter of the Caſtle, and put themſelves into the beſt poſture of defence; but *Spragg* in the mean time attacked them with ſo much Valour and Succeſs, that he ſet moſt of them on fire; and thoſe which eſcaped the flame, fell into his hands, and were made Prizes of: And to compleat the Victory, Captain *Beach* brought him another Ship, which he had newly taken, of Forty Guns, and Three hundred and fifty men. So that *Spragg* believing that this Loſs might diſpoſe the *Algerines* to accept of Terms of Peace, made a ſpeedy return to his ſtation,

ſtation, before that Port; whereupon, conſtrained by neceſſity, they concluded a Peace, as honourable and advantagious as any we ever had with thoſe Rovers.

About this time a ſtrange and odd kind of Action happened, which for its unuſualneſs, was the matter of much wonder and diſcourſe: For one *Thomas Bloud*, commonly called Captain *Bloud*, being diſcontented, upon pretence of an Eſtate, detained from him in *Ireland*, and having a little before, with five perſons in his company, armed and mounted, ſeized the Duke of *Ormond*, as he was going home, between St. *James*'s and *Clarendon*-houſe, forcing him out of his Coach, and attempting to have carried him away, had he not been reſcued by others coming in to his aſſiſtance, (a Fact which rendred him not more bold in the undertaking, than the Duke memorable in forgiving:) But not being able to carry off the Duke, he next adventured to attempt the Crown; In order whereunto, he coming to the Keeper of the Jewel-houſe, and deſiring to ſee the Crown and Jewels; which being ſhewed him,

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he gratified the Keeper more liberally than it was uſual for others to do in ſuch caſes; telling him, that he had ſome Friends who were very deſirous to ſee them, and that he would bring them the next Morning. Accordingly he came with three others with him; and the old Gentleman, being prepared by *Blond*'s liberality, gave them a ready admittance into the Jewel-houſe; but their deſign being to take, and not to ſee, they gagg'd and ſecured the Keeper; and then putting the Crown and Ball into two Baggs, which they brought with them for that purpoſe, fairly walked away, and had certainly carried them off, (having paſs'd moſt of the Centinels with them) had not the Keeper's Son-in-law accidentally came by, and ſeeing the condition his Father lay in, run out haſtily, and cryed to the Guards, to ſtop them. Whereupon fear making them to mend their pace, they became the means of their own diſcovery; and being thereupon ſuſpected, and commanded to ſtand, they fired a Piſtol at the Centinel; but others coming in to his aſſiſtance, two of them were ſeized, and carried to

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White-Hall, and after examination, ſent Priſoners to the Tower, where they had committed that bold Attempt.

The King now finding himſelf at leiſure, reſolved to look after the condition of his Weſtern Sea-port Towns, and ſpend the Summer in a kind of Sea-Progreſs; For going firſt to *Portſmouth*, he went in his Yacht to the Iſle of *Wight*, and took a view of moſt of the conſiderable Ports in that Iſland; from whence he returned to *Hurſt*-Caſtle, and from thence to *Corfe*-Caſtle, and having viewed, and taken order for the furniſhing thoſe places with all neceſſary Proviſions, returned again to *Portſmouth*; and from thence, attended with five Frigots, ſailed to *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, and other places in thoſe parts, knowing that according to the ancient Proverb, the Maſter's eye quickens the Servant's diligence.

Notwithſtanding the many Loſſes ſuſtained by the *Dutch* in their former War with *England*, and the difficulty they met withal in attaining a Peace, yet they took no care to preſerve

ſerve it, but by new Affronts laid a foundation for a ſecond War; and therefore the King having long concealed his juſt Diſpleaſure againſt them, reſolved now to let them know his ill Reſentments of their unworthy Dealings towards him; Purſuant to which he declared in the following Spring, That ſeeing his Neighbours were making great Preparations, both by Sea and Land, He thought himſelf obliged to appear in ſuch a poſture as might beſt ſecure his own Government, and his Peoples peace; to make ſuch Preparations as ſhould be anſwerable to the preſervation of both, which could not be done, without fitting out a conſiderable Fleet againſt the approaching Spring; In order whereunto, Money being at that time wanting, he was forced to put a ſtop to the payment of any Money then brought in, or to be brought into the Exchequer, for the ſpace of one whole Year, declaring that nothing could have moved him thereunto, but the looking upon his Government as unſafe, under the threatening Preparations of the *States General*, and other neighbouring Princes, without appear-

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ing in the ſame poſture: And that therefore ſeeing the neceſſity was inevitable, ſome extraordinary courſe muſt be taken, until Money could be otherwiſe procured.

However, before he would enter into War with them, he endeavoured to bring them to terms of Peace by the threatning of it; and therefore ordered Sir *George Downing*, who was his Embaſſador to the States, to be very urgent with them on the Affair of the Flagg: which, notwithſtanding it had ever been accounted a Ceremony due to the Kings of *England*, as an acknowledgment of their Sovereignty in the narrow Seas, had been for ſome time denied by them. But having, by ſeveral Inſtances and Memorials, preſſed for an Anſwer to his Demands; and finding nothing but delays, and ſeveral perſonal affronts to him, he returned, without Orders, for *England*, and was, for ſo doing, after a private Examination by ſome Lords of the Council, and Report thereof made to the King, Committed to the *Tower* for not obſerving the Orders ſent him. At which Proceedings of the States, the King being juſtly enraged, reſolved to trifle with

them no longer, but make them feel the effects of his Indignation. And knowing that whilſt he had Wars abroad, it was neceſſary to have Peace and Union at home, he put forth a Declaration of Indulgence to all Diſſenting Perſons, promiſing, notwithſtanding that Indulgence, to maintain the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* as it was then eſtabliſhed.

Sir *Robert Holmes* Cruiſing with five of the King's Frigots near the Iſle of *Wight*, about the middle of *March* met with the *Dutch Smyrna* and *Streight* Fleet, Convoyed by ſix of their men of War, and ſtanding with them, gave them a Gun to ſtrike and lower their Flag; which they refuſing, he poured a Broad-ſide upon them: whereupon, their Convoy coming up, the Fight began about two in the afternoon, and continued until night, and the next morning was again renewed, five of their richeſt Merchant-men being taken, their Reer-Admiral ſunk, and the reſt made their eſcape for want of more aſſiſtance.

The firſt blow being thus given, the King denounced open War againſt them

them, by Publiſhing his Declaration, wherein he gave the World an account of the Grounds and Reaſons of his Quarrel with them; which, together with the *French* Kings preparations and proceedings towards them, in laying great Impoſitions upon their Manufacture, which they foreſaw tended to a rupture with them, they fortifiing themſelves with all imaginable ſpeed and diligence, endeavoured to procure Allies abroad, and made the Prince of *Orange* their Captain-General at Land, and Admiral at Sea: And looking upon *Maeſtricht*, as the firſt place that would in all probability be attacked by the *French* King, they repaired the Fortifications thereof, and re-inforced that City with Men and Proviſions.

The King reſolving to proſecute the War with all imaginable reſolution and vigour, provided for the ſecurity of his own Subjects, by allowing them ſufficient Convoys, and giving them liberty to make uſe of what Foreign Mariners they could procure. And his Fleet being now ready to put to Sea, he went to *Rye* to ſee them joyn with a Squadron of *French* Ships, which that King, according to agreement, was to

furniſh him with, under the Command of the Count *d' Eſtree*, Vice-Admiral of *France*. And ſo ſoon as he was returned, the two Fleets being now joyned, ſtood over for the Coaſt of *Holland*, Commanded by His preſent Majeſty, then Duke of *York*, whoſe very name was terrible to the *Dutch*. And on the twenty eighth of *May* meeting with the Enemies Fleet, about five Leagues off the *Wheelings*, there enſued a very fierce and bloody Engagement, both ſides being emulous for Honour, and deſirous of Victory, fighting with extraordinary eagerneſs: But the night coming on, and the *Dutch* finding themſelves unable to bear up againſt the Valour of the *Engliſh*, ſtood towards their own Coaſts, and were purſued by the Duke, who reſolved to have renewed the Engagement the next morning, had not a Fog prevented, and favoured their ſecuring themſelves in their Shallows: The loſs on the *Dutch* ſide was very great, both as to Men and Ships, but on the part of the *Engliſh*, there was little Dammage, beſide the loſs of the Earl of *Sandwich* and the Royal *James*.

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This loſs at Sea was attended with many more on Land, the *French* King having taken ſeveral of their Frontier Towns, which poſſeſſed them with ſuch a Conſternation, that many of the wealthy Inhabitants forſook their Habitations, reſolving not to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates in a Countrey falling into the hands of a Victorious Foreigner; And the States not thinking themſelves ſecure enough at the *Hague*, removed to *Amſterdam*: and to impede the *French* King's approach, cauſed the Sluces to be opened, and the Country be put under Water, to the incredible Prejudice and Dammage of the miſerable Inhabitants. Which Diſtraction of theirs, the King of *England* wiſely improved, to the ſtrengthening himſelf and the weakening of them, by putting forth a ſeaſonable Declaration; wherein he promiſed, "That if any of "their Subjects, out of affection to him "or his Government, or to avoid the "oppreſſion they met with at home, "would take refuge in his Kingdom, "they ſhould be protected in their Per-"ſons and Eſtates, and have an Act paſs "for their Naturalization, and that "ſuch Ships as they brought with

"them ſhould be accounted as *Engliſh*
"Built, and enjoy the ſame Priviledges
"and Immunities, as to Trade, Navi-
"gation and Cuſtoms, as thoſe of his
"own Subjects.

Yet, commiſerating the deplorable condition into which the *States* were reduced, and ſuppoſing their misfortunes had rendred them more humble, he ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Arlington*, to try if they would at length offer any reaſonable terms of Peace; who were received, by the Common People, with great joy and ſatisfaction, crying out, God bleſs the King of *England*, and God bleſs the Prince of *Orange*, but the Devil take the *States*. But their Pride being not ſufficiently abated, the Embaſſadors returned without bringing them to any Concluſion; which, together with the *French* King's taking *Nimeguen*, and the *Engliſh* Fleets appearing upon their Coaſts, ſo enraged the People, that they brake out into tumultuous Inſurrections: and there was ſcarce a Town in *Holland*, where they were not maſterleſs. And therefore the *States*, that they might appeaſe them, commanded their Fleet to go out and beat the *Engliſh* from

from their Harbours; which *De Ruyter* attempted with all the force that Courage and Reſolution could inſpire him with: but finding himſelf overmatched, was forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. The Fleets having both repaired the Dammages of this Fight, haſtened to try their fortune in a ſecond Engagement: which being as unſucceſsful to the *Dutch* as the former, *De Ruyter* ſtole away in the night: But having increaſed his Fleet, was not long before he got to Sea again, and meeting about the middle of *Auguſt* with the *Engliſh* Fleet, endeavoured to get the Wind of them, which then blew *North-Eaſt*, reſolving, if poſſible, to redeem his loſt reputation: but night coming on, both Fleets came to an Anchor. The next day, the Fight began with the morning; wherein the *Dutch* ſuſtained a very great loſs, and the greateſt part of their Fleet had in all probability been deſtroy'd, and the conteſt about the Dominion of the Narrow-Seas ended, had not the Cowardly *French*, who were then Maſters of the Wind, behaved themſelves as though they had been ſent thither only to be ſpectators of the Bravery and

Valour of the *English*: Whereupon, the *States-General*, finding they could no longer withſtand the ſucceſsful Arms of that fortunate King, ſued for Peace by their Embaſſador, and had it granted, as well out of Pity to them, as Jealouſie of the *French* King's too growing greatneſs, whoſe Progreſs they were now at leiſure to oppoſe.

The King having now conſented to admit the *Hollanders* to terms of Peace, became a Mediator for the like accommodation between the Crown of *France* and *Spain*, endeavouring by his Embaſſador, the Lord *Lockhart*, to compoſe the differences between them; and reſolving, whether he ſucceeded in that Mediation or not, to be no partaker with them in their Quarrels: and Commanded, by Proclamation, that none of his Subjects ſhould enter into the Service of any Foreign Prince. And for the better ſecuring of Trade to and from his Ports (which was much diſturbed by the Inſolency of ſeveral *Dutch*, *Spaniſh* and *French* Privateers, betwixt whom the War ſtill continued) he Publiſh'd a Proclamation, wherein he declared, That all Ships, to what Party ſoever they belonged, ſhould

ſhould be under his Protection, during their ſtay in any of his Ports or Harbours; Commanding the Officers of his Navy, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to hinder the Roving of any Private Men ſo near his Coaſt, as to give apprehenſion of danger to Merchants. And that if a Man of War, of either Party, and one or more Merchant-Men of another, ſhould come into any of his Ports, the Merchant-Men ſhould ſail out two Tides before the Man of War ſhould be permitted to ſtirr; forbidding his Sea-men to Liſt themſelves on Board any Foreign Man of War, or other Ship deſigned for Traffick, or the Fiſhing-Trade without his Licence: laying down ſeveral other Rules in Relation to the ſecurity of Trade, and the Maintaining his Sovereignty in thoſe Seas, which were punctually obſerved, and thereby many Merchants and Traders preſerved from being made prize of by their Enemies. And that he might ſecure the Peace of his Kingdom for the future, as well as for the preſent, he procured the Parliament to give him the ſum of five hundred eighty four thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy eight Pounds, for the

the ſpeedy building thirty Ships of War, which he cauſed to be built ſo large and ſubſtantial, that they coſt him one hundred thouſand Pounds more than they gave him.

And now beginning to reflect upon the ſucceſs of the *French* King's Arms; and fearing leſt the growing Greatneſs of that Monarch might too much obſcure his own Glory, and threaten the future Peace of his Kingdom, reſolved with himſelf, by entring into an Alliance with ſome Princes and States abroad, to put a ſtop to his further Conqueſts in *Flanders:* And that the *French* might not think him in jeſt only, he immediately applied himſelf to the raiſing of Forces, and in a ſhort time had a brave Army on Foot, ready to be tranſported into *Flanders*, and Married his Niece, the Lady *Mary* (eldeſt Daughter to his only Brother the Duke of *York*) to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Parliament having, at their laſt ſitting, deſired him to haſten his entering into ſuch Councils and Alliances as might ſave what remained of *Flanders* from being devoured by the *French*; he acquainted them, at their next Meeting, with what he had done, telling

telling them, that he had made ſuch an agreement with *Holland*, and the reſt of the Confederates, that if ſeconded by plentiful ſupplies from them, and due care from the *Spaniards* for their own Preſervation, he doubted not but to reſtore ſuch an Honourable Peace to Chriſtendom, as might not be in the Power of one Prince alone to diſturb, which he had endeavoured by a fair Treaty: And was reſolved, if that ſucceeded not, to enter into an actual War with *France*, laying before them the expences he had been at already, and what ſums of Money ſuch a War would neceſſarily require. And to remove all ſorts of Jealouſies, he had Married his Niece to the Prince of *Orange*, thereby giving full aſſurance, never to ſuffer that Prince's Intereſt to be ruined, if aſſiſted by them as he ought to be to preſerve it.

To Alarm the *French* King the more with a noiſe of War, the Parliament, made ſeveral Addreſſes to the King; wherein they intreated him to enter into an Actual War with that Crown, promiſing to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes to that end.

end: And a Book was Publiſhed, Intituled, *Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtianandus*, wherein reaſons were given for reducing the moſt Chriſtian King to a more Chriſtian ſtate in *Europe*. And finding that the *French* King ſtill went on in his Conqueſts, he ſent ſome Regiments of his new raiſed Forces over into *Flanders*, to ſecure the places of greateſt conſequence there, and Commanded a Faſt, on *Wedneſday* the tenth of *April*, to be kept in *London*, and on that day fortnight throughout the whole Kingdom, to implore the bleſſings of Heaven on his undertakings. And the Parliament to aſſiſt him with Money, which is the ſinews of War, raiſed him a liberal ſum by a Pole-Bill; and that they might weaken the *French* as well as ſtrengthen him, Prohibited *French* Wines, and other things of the Growth and Manufactury of that Country, a contrivance that would certainly have reduced him to terms of Moderation and Peace, had the reſt of the Confederates done the like, but for want of that, the deſign of the Prohibition fell, and he received little or no dammage thereby. However, remembring

membring how fatal the Arms of *England* had formerly been to *France*; and being Thunder-ſtrook with the Fame of the King's having in forty days raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, and fitted out a Navy of ninety Ships, he durſt not adventure (notwithſtanding his ſucceſs in *Flanders*) to run the hazard of a War with that Nation. To prevent which, he reſolved to conſent to a Peace with ſome of the Confederates, hoping thereby to break the meaſures already taken by King *Charles*, and therefore preſently offered a ſeparate Treaty with *Holland*; which People, according to their uſual (though unjuſt and baſe Cuſtom, of ſerving themſelves and leaving their Confederates in the lurch) without acquainting the King of *England* therewith, accepted of, and afterwards concluded, upon condition that he would give up *Maeſtricht*, and other places which he had taken from them during the War. But beſides their uſual cuſtom of waiting the firſt opportunity of ſlipping their own necks out of the Coller, they being informed, that the League Offenſive and Defenſive, which the

King

King of *England* had entred into with them, was not well underſtood at home, and had met with ſome unfitting and very undeſerv'd Reflections, and that the Parliament had taken up a Reſolution of giving no Money, till ſatisfaction was firſt had in ſome Matters of Religion, and thoſe Jealouſies removed, which they had without all ground taken up of his Proceedings, very much influenced their entrance into that Treaty; concluding, that it was now vain to rely any longer upon *England*, ſince *England* was no longer it ſelf, by reaſon of thoſe Diviſions and Miſunderſtandings between the King and his Parliament.

But the King, who was not ignorant of what the *Dutch* were doing, reſolving to ſave *Flanders* either by a War or Peace, perſwaded the King of *Spain*, and the reſt of the Confederates to accept of the ſame Treaty with them, endeavouring to procure a Ceſſation of Arms on all ſides, during the time of the Treaty, the better to make way for the deſired Peace. However, conſidering the influence that

Peace

Peace would have upon *England*, was altogether uncertain, and knowing that by his late Preparations and Alliances, he had provoked a mighty and a warlike King, he thought it convenient to provide for his own ſecurity, if the worſt ſhould happen, by keeping up his Army, and continuing his Fleet at Sea; eſpecially ſince that was the moſt probable means to make the *French* King account it his intereſt to haſten the Peace, and procure to himſelf the more advantagious Terms therein, telling his Parliament, which met ſoon after, That although they would peradventure account the Peace he was endeavouring to procure, as ill a bargain as War, becauſe it coſt them Money; yet if they ſeriouſly conſidered, that *Flanders* might have, perhaps, been loſt by that time, he believed, they would give much greater Sums than all the Charge he he had been at, amounted to, rather than the ſingle Town of *Oſtend* ſhould be in the *French* King's hands, and Forty or Fifty of his Ships of War in ſo good a Haven, over againſt the Rivers mouth: adding, That he could

could not but be very well pleaſed, to underſtand the Reputation he had gained abroad, by having in ſo ſhort a time rais'd ſo great an Army, and fitted out ſo brave a Fleet; and hoped that they were ſo too, ſince it ſo much redounded to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, deſiring them therefore, if they had any reſpect to their own Welfare, and the Peace of *Europe*, or were willing he ſhould paſs any part of his Life in quiet, and all the reſt in confidence and quietneſs with them and other future Parliaments, to take care for the maintaining Peace and Union at home, and the ſetling the ſame Revenue he had the *Chriſtmaſs* before, (ſome of it being then fallen off) upon him for Life, and add 300000 *l. per Annum* thereunto, to enable him to maintain the Navy and Ord'nance, and keep his Word with the Prince of *Orange*, in the payment of 40000 *l.* as his Nieces Portion; the firſt Payment whereof was then become due, and demanded by that Prince.

But

But the *French* King, notwithſtanding the Ceſſation of Arms, endeavouring to enlarge his Conqueſts, and poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral conſiderable Towns, he reſolved to prevent him; and therefore commanded the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was at that time General of all his Land Forces, and the Earl of *Oſſery* to joyn the Prince of *Orange*, and attempt the beating of him from the Siege of *Mons*, which was then very much ſtraitned by him, and would in all probability have been loſt within a few days: The *French*, who lay encamp'd between two Woods, the right Wing poſted at St. *Dennis*, and their left at *Mamoy St. Pierre*, with ſuch advantage, that beſides the Woods, there was only a Precipice led to them, which made them almoſt inacceſſable, thought themſelves ſecure; but the Cannon playing briskly upon St. *Dennis*, and the valiant *Engliſh*, commanded by the Earl of *Oſſery*, fal'ing on with their accuſtomed Courage and Fury, ſoon forced the Abbey, and compell'd the *French*, poſted there, to fly in great diſorder to their main body, many of them

being ſlain in the diſpute, which was very hot: And the Duke of *Luxenburgh*, who was Commander there, as the *French* King's General, notwithſtanding he had upon their firſt approach, (on a preſumption that he lay encamp'd in a place which was impregnable) laught at, and derided the vain Attempt, as he imagined, of forcing his Camp; finding he had now to do with the reſolute *Engliſh*, and not the timerous *Spaniards*, or wary *Germans*, diſlodg'd in great confuſion, leaving his ſlain and many wounded Men behind, and the Tents ſtanding as they were, to the Plunder of his victorious Enemies; whereby the relieving of *Mons*, a work thought little leſs then impoſſible, was eaſily performed, and the *French* King diſappointed of his hopes: And had that ſucceeſs been followed and improv'd, the *French* King would in all probability have been reduced to great extremities, and have been glad to have accepted of Peace upon any Conditions he could have gotten; but the Peace which he had, upon the march of the *Engliſh*, haſtily concluded a few days before at *Nemeguen*, put a ſtop to all farther hoſtilities.

Things

Things being brought to this happy concluſion abroad, new Stirs and Commotions begin to appear at home; For one *Titus Oates*, who had receiv'd Education & Orders in the *Church of England*, and was afterward (ſeemingly, or God knows how) reconcil'd to the *Church of Rome*, going firſt into *Flanders*, and then into *Spain*, ingratiated himſelf with the Jeſuits and Prieſts in thoſe parts, with a deſign, as he afterward pretended, to diſcover what they were plotting againſt *England*, returning about this time, inform'd the King of a Plot, carried on by the Jeſuits, and others of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, againſt his Perſon and Life, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Government of the Kingdom; And that his Information might appear the more plauſible, and be the more readily believed, he named divers Perſons of Quality engaged in the Deſign, and what Inſtruments had been provided for his Aſſaſſination; affirming, that when he was once taken off, the remaining part of the Work, was to have been carried on by Arms, Foreign Aſſiſtance, and ſuch other Expedients as they ſhould have judged neceſſary for the ſucceſs of their Enterpriſe. Whether there was

any truth at all in this Relation, or how much there was, or whether the King at all believed it, is none of my buſineſs to determine, ſince I deſign as an Hiſtorian, only to relate matter of Fact; but certain it is, that many Troubles and Combuſtions were occaſioned thereby, and ſeveral great and threatning Miſchiefs have ſince fallen ſo thick upon theſe Kingdoms, that one hath ever trod upon the heels of another.

Upon this Information the Privy-Councel ſate twice a day, to conſider and examin that Plot, and Sir *George Wakeman*, one of the Queen's Phyſicians, Mr. *Coleman*, the Dutcheſs of *York*'s Secretary, Mr. *Langhorn* of the *Temple*, and ſeveral others were committed cloſe Priſoners; and the Lords *Bellaſſis*, *Powis*, *Peters*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Caſtlemain*, and *Stafford*, were ſecured in the *Tower*. And the Parliament ſitting ſoon after, the King told them in his Speech, That he had been informed of a Deſign againſt his Perſon, carried on by the *Papiſts*, whereof he ſhould forbear to give his opinion, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſay too much, or too little, but would leave the matter wholly to the deciſion of the Law, without prejudging the

the perſons accuſed: But the ſtrict inquiry into that Matter having diſcovered many unwarrantable Practices of theirs, he thought he had reaſon to look to 'em. Altho' this Plot, in all the parts of it, was a complication of Myſteries, yet the greateſt myſtery of all ſeems to be the buſineſs of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, who being a Juſtice of the Peace for *Middleſex*, and a ſevere enemy to the *Papiſts*, as was generally ſuppoſed, took the Depoſitions of *Oates* and *Tongue*, and was ſoon after found dead in a Ditch, not far from *Hampſted*, with his Sword run through him, appearing to the Coroners Inqueſt, to have been firſt ſtrangled, before he was brought thither; which was ſworn by *Bedloe*, who came in upon the King's offer, in his Proclamation, of 500*l.* to any that would diſcover the manner of his death; and *Prance*, who was apprehended by him, as he was attending in the Lobby of the Lords Houſe, to be done by the *Papiſts*.

The examination of this Plot, and the Murder of *Godfrey*, which they look'd upon as a ſufficient confirmation of its truth and reality, employed the Commons ſo aſſiduouſly, that they ſat whole

days to conſult about it, without ſtirring from Morning till it was late at Night; the product whereof was, a Faſt enjoined by Proclamation, throughout the Nation; the Minutes of that Houſe, forbid to be divulged; a Reſolution entred by them in their Journal, That it was their Opinion, upon the Evidence that had already appeared to that Houſe, there had been and was an execrable and helliſh Deſign, contrived and carried on by the *Papiſts* for aſſaſſinating the King, ſubverting the Government, and deſtroying the *Proteſtant* Religion; a Proclamation, which baniſh'd all the reputed *Papiſts* ten Miles from *London* and *Weſtminſter*, except Houſholders, who were obliged likewiſe to take the Oaths, or ſuffer the Penalties inflicted by Law upon the refuſers of them; and another for the turning all *Roman Catholicks* out of the Horſe and Foot-Guards, wherein 20*l.* was promiſed to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any Officer or Soldier who had formerly taken the Oaths and Teſt, and had ſince turned *Papiſt*.

But the Commons not yet ſatisfied, it was moved in that Houſe, That an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King,

to

to remove the Duke of *York* from his Preſence and Councels, but he being informed of their intention, reſolved to prevent them, and endeavour to take them off from their unſeaſonable heat, by aſſuring them of his ſtedfaſt Reſolution to defend them in their juſt Rights and Priviledges, and comply with any reaſonable offer they ſhould make for the ſecurity of the *Proteſtant Religion*; in order whereunto, he went the next day in his Robes to the Houſe of Peers, and having commanded the Commons to attend him, in a Speech to both Houſes, he gave them his hearty thanks for their extraordinary care, for the preſervation of his Life in that time of danger; telling them, that he was as ready to joyn with them in all ways and means that might conduce to the eſtabliſhment and ſecurity of the *Proteſtant Religion*, as their own hearts could wiſh, and that not only during his Life, but in future Ages, even to the end of the World; and therefore was come thither at that time, to aſſure them that whatſoever reaſonable Bills they ſhould at any time preſent to him, to be paſs'd into Laws, for the rendring them ſafe in the Reign of his Succeſſor,

ſo as they tended not to impeach the Right of Succeſſion, nor the Deſcent of the Crown in the true Line, and ſo alſo as they did not reſtrain and limit the juſt Rights and Power of the Throne, ſhould find from him a ready concurrence: And to demonſtrate his reality therein, when he had about the latter end of that Month a Bill preſented to him, for the diſſabling all *Popiſh* Members to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, he gave his Royal Aſſent thereunto, tho' at the ſame time he refuſed another, which was for raiſing a third part of the Militia to be in conſtant Arms for a time; telling them, that that were to put the Militia out of his own power, which thing he would not do, no not for one hour; but promiſed, if they would aſſiſt him with Money for that purpoſe, to raiſe ſuch a part of the Militia, as ſhould ſecure the Peace of the Government and his own Perſon.

And now ſeveral of thoſe accuſed by *Oates*, and others, (for the Witneſſes were by this time increaſed) were brought to Tryal before Sir *William Scroggs*, then Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings bench*; And thoſe that gave evidence againſt them, being very poſitive in

in their Depoſitions, *Coleman*, *Ireland*, *Pickering*, *Groves*, *Whitebread*, *Fenwick*, *Langhorn*, and divers more, were at ſeveral times condemned and executed; and ſo was *William Staley*, a Goldſmith's Son in *Covent-Garden*, for ſpeaking dangerous words againſt the King's Life; and three more, whoſe Names were *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, upon the evidence of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, for the Murder of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, *Prance* affirming, he was murdred in *Somerſet-houſe*, and that himſelf aſſiſted in the murdring of him: They every one died, denying what they were charged withal, and aſſerting their innocency with all the Solemn Proteſtations imaginable, which was credited, or disbelieved, according to peoples various inclinations. And now ſome Members of Paliament began to accuſe each other; Mr. *Mountague*, who had been a little before Embaſſador to the *French* King, carried up five Articles againſt the Treaſurer *Danby*; and Sir *John Ernly*, another of the Commons, accuſed *Mountague*, of holding a correſpondency with the Popes Nuncio at *Paris*, but for his good ſervice, in accuſing *Danby*, that was overlook'd, and a reſolution taken to pro-

proceed with ſeverity againſt the Treaſurer.

This Parliament, which firſt began on the 8*th* of *May*, in the year 1661. and had now been continued, by ſeveral Prorogations and Adjournments, for 17 Years, 8 Months, and 17 Days, began to grow ſo preſumptuous, that upon an Information, that Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, then Secretary of State, had counter-ſigned ſeveral Commiſſions for Officers, who were *Roman* Recuſants, with a *Non obſtante* to the Oaths and Teſt, they took the boldneſs to commit him priſoner to the Tower; whereupon the King commanding them the next day to attend him in the Banquetting-houſe, briskly told them, That tho' they had committed his Servant, without acquainting him, yet he would deal more freely with them, in acquainting them with his intentions to releaſe his Secretary; which he immediately ordered to be done, and finding there was but little good to be expected from their proceedings, he prorogued them on the 30*th* of *Decemb.* and on the 24*th* of the following *January*, diſſolved them by Proclamation, and called a new one, to ſit on the 6*th* of the next *March*, iſſuing out

out *Writs* for the ſpeedy chuſing of them.

From the Counſels and Debates of this new Parliament which met at the time appointed, the King expected more felicity than he had met with from thoſe of the former; and therefore to prevent all occaſions of diſguſt, and hinder them from falling with the like heat upon his Brother, deſired the Duke to retire for ſome time beyond the Seas: for the Reaſons expreſt in the following Letter.

The *King's* Letter to His *Royal Highneſs*.

I Have already given You My reſolves at large, why I think it fit You ſhould abſent Your ſelf for ſome time beyond the Seas: As I am truly ſorry for the occaſion, ſo may You be ſure I ſhall never deſire it longer than it will be abſolutely neceſſary for Your Good and My Service. In the mean time, I think it proper to give You under My Hand, that I expect this compliance from You, and deſire it may be aſſoon as conveniently You can. You may eaſily believe with what trouble I write this to You, there being nothing I am more ſenſible of, than the conſtant kindneſs You have ever had for Me: I hope you are as juſt to Me, to be aſſured that no abſence, nor any thing elſe, can ever change me from being truly and kindly Yours. And

And his *Royal Highneſs* in compliance with his Brothers deſire, & an unwillingneſs to be the occaſion of the leaſt miſunderſtanding between the King & his Parliament, rather than from any Principles of Fear, or conſciouſneſs of Guilt, left *England* for a while, and went firſt to the *Hague*, and from thence to *Bruxels*.

When the time of opening the Parliament drew near, it was generally expected, that the King would have Rode to *Weſtminſter* in State, according to the ancient Cuſtom upon ſuch occaſions: But thinking that Pompous Ceremony no way ſuitable to the Melancholly temper of thoſe diſtracted times, he declined it, and went thither privately by Water in his Barge: And having ſeated himſelf in his Throne, and Commanded the Commons to attend him at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, acquainted them with the preſent poſture of affairs, and the buſineſs they were called for; which was, to ſettle the Nation upon the ſure Foundations of Peace, telling them, That to unite the minds of his Subjects both to himſelf and to each other, he had excluded the Popiſh Lords from their Seats in the Parliament, cauſed the Execution of ſeveral

Perſons,

Perſons, both for the Plot and the Murder of *Godfrey*, Disbanded the Army ſo far as his Mony would reach: And (that which was more than all) had Commanded his Brother to abſent himſelf, that ſo he might leave ambitious Men void of the leaſt pretence of his being influenced by Popiſh Councils, and try whether the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom, were as truly aimed at by others, as they were really intended by him; which they had no other way to convince him of, than by laying aſide all private Animoſities, and employing their time wholly upon the great Concerns of the Nation: Aſſuring them, that he would not ceaſe to make further ſearch into the Plot, and the Murder of *Godfrey*, wherein he deſired the aſſiſtance of both Houſes; and that he had Ordered the Penal Laws to be put in execution againſt Papiſts, and would Disband the remainder of the Army, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſupply him with Mony for ſo doing, and to pay off the Fleet, and make up the loſs he had ſuſtained by the Prohibition of *French* Wines and Brandy: Which tho' deſigned to weaken the hands of the *French*, had turned only to his prejudice

and

and their advantage: Telling them moreover, that ſince his Neighbours were making Naval Preparations, he thought it neceſſary ſtill to maintain a Fleet at Sea, and that it highly concerned them to provide a conſtant eſtabliſhment for the Navy: And concluding his Speech, with his earneſt deſires to have that Parliament prove a Healing one, aſſuring them, that it was his conſtant reſolution to defend with his Life the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom: and that he expected, in ſo doing, to be by them defended from the Calumny, as well as danger, of thoſe worſt of Men, who endeavoured to render both *Him* and his *Government* odious to his *People*. Adviſing them likewiſe by his Chancellor, the Earl of *Nottingham*, not to ſuffer their Zeal to out-run their Diſcretion, leſt by being too far tranſported with the fears of Popery, they over-did their buſineſs, and by neglecting the opportunities of making ſober and laſting Proviſions againſt it, render themſelves the unhappy occaſion of making their own Counſels abortive.

The Commons, as ſoon as they were returned to their Houſe, made choice of Mr.

Mr. *Seymour* for their Speaker, whom they lookt upon as the fitteſt Perſon for that employment, in regard he had officiated therein in the former Parliament; but the King refuſing to admit him, they choſe Serjeant *Gregory*. And to convince the World that they were Leavened with the ſame Principles, and reſolved to thwart the King's Deſigns for ſetling the Nations as much as the former had done, begun where they ended, ordering a Committee to inquire into the manner how *Danby* had ſued out his Pardon which was granted him by the King, to ſecure the Earl, for whom he had a particular affection, having always found him faithful to his Intereſt, from all fear of Puniſhment for any pretended Crimes, ſuppoſing, as well he might, that they would not diſpute his Power of Pardoning, ſince it was by the Law inveſted on him as one of the chiefeſt Jewels of his Crown. But finding, upon ſearch, that the Pardon was not entred after its paſſing at the Secretaries Office, in any other Office, 'till it came to the Lord Chancellor, and ſo diſpatcht in a private manner; They Reſolve upon an Addreſs to the King, to repreſent to his Majeſty the illegality and the dangerous

gerous conſequence of granting Pardons to any Perſons who lay under an Impeachment of the Commons, and deſired the Lords, that he might be ſequeſtred from their Houſe, and put into ſafe Cuſtody: who accordingly ordered the Uſher of the Black Rod to take him, which he had done, had he not abſented himſelf. Whereupon, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, to Command his ſurrendring himſelf by a certain day, or in default thereof, to ſtand attainted. And the Lords having in the mean while paſs'd a Bill for Baniſhing and diſabling of him, and ſent it down to the Commons for their concurrence, it was rejected as a Cenſure too favourable; and a Vote paſs'd for an Addreſs to the King, that he would not permit him to reſide in any of his Pallaces of *White-Hall*, *Somerſet-Houſe* or St. *James*'s: and another Addreſs to be made for a Proclamation to apprehend him, and forbid all the King's Subjects to harbour or conceal him. In the mean while, the Bill of Attainder was highly canvaſſed, at ſeveral conferences, between the two Houſes, 'till at length the Earl ſaved them the labour of paſſing a Bill for his Attainder, by ſurrendring himſelf to the Uſher of the Black-Rod. The

The Lords in the *Tower* were, at their first Imprisonment, found Guilty upon special Indictments, by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, before special Commissioners sitting at *Westminster*. But that way of proceeding being for some Reasons waved, they were severally impeacht by the Commons, and their Impeachment carried up to the Peers by Five Members of the House of Commons; to which they gave in their Answers in person, all but *Bellasis*, who being ill of the *Gout*, sent his in writing.

The King, to content the Faction, if possible, on the 2*d* of *April* declared his pleasure to dissolve his Privy Council (with which they had shewed themselves displeased), and constitute a new one; which for the time to come should consist of Thirty persons, Fifteen whereof were to be certain, *viz.* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, the Lord Chancellor, one of the Chief Justices, the Admiral, the Master of the Ordinance, the Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Privy Seal, the Master of the Horse, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold,

the Groom of the Stool, and the Two Secretaries: And the reſt to be Elective at his pleaſure; Ten out of the Nobility, and Five Commoners, beſides ſuch Princes of the Blood as ſhould be at Court, A Lord Preſident, and a Secretary of *Scotland*. And according to that new Model, as many of them as were in Court, met the next morning in the Council-Chamber, and were ſworn Privy Councellors: The King going the ſame day to the Parliament, acquainted the Two Houſes with what he had done; and aſſured them he was reſolved in all weighty and important Affairs, next to his great Council in Parliament, to be adviſed by that Privy Council. And it being his cuſtom, as it had been his Fathers before him, to take off ſome hot Spirits, whoſe Parts and Abilities he judged might be improved to his own and the Publicks advantage, by promoting them to ſome Place or Office of Truſt, or otherwiſe winning them to his Friendſhip, unleſs they were ſuch whoſe Natures, corrupted by their deſigns, had rendred obſtinate and implacable, as the Earl of *Shaftsbury* afterward appeared to be; he for the moſt part choſe the other

ther Fifteen, which were to compleat his Council, out of their number, and made *Shaftsbury* Lord Preſident of it.

The Parliament reſolving to haſten the Trial of the Lords, *Danby* and *Bellaaſis*, appeared in perſon at the Bar of the Lords Houſe; where the former put in his Plea, and the other his Anſwer. And the next day *Stafford*, *Arundel* and *Powis*, appeared there likewiſe; and having retracted their former Pleas, which appeared inſufficient to the Commons, they put in their further Anſwers.

And the King commanding the Commons to attend him in the Houſe of Lords, renewed the Aſſurances he had formerly given them, of his being ready to aſſent to any Laws they ſhould provide for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, ſo that the Deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, were not thereby defeated: And that he was willing a proviſion ſhould be made to diſtinguiſh a Popiſh from a Proteſtant Succeſſor; and limit the Authority of the former, if any ſuch ſhould be, by providing that all Church-preferments ſhould be conferred on Pious and

Learned Proteſtants: That the Parliament which ſhould happen to be in being at his own Death; or if none, the laſt that ſate, ſhould thereupon aſſemble without any new Summons or Election: That during the Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor, no Privy Councellor, or Judg of the Common Law, or Chancery, ſhould be put in, or diſplaced, but by conſent of Parliament: That none ſhould be Juſtices of Peace but Proteſtants; and that the Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants of Counties, and Officers in the Navy, ſhould not be put in, nor removed, but by the Authority of Parliament: Telling them, he conceived it hard to invent any other Reſtraint to be put on a Popiſh Succeſſor; Yet if any thing did occur to their Wiſdom, whereby their Religion and Liberties might be better ſecured, he was ready to conſent to it.

Whereupon the Commons, after they had ſeveral times adjourned the conſideration of this Speech, on the 11*th* of *May*, reſolved, That they would ſtand by His Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes: And that if he ſhould come by any violent Death, which they

prayed

prayed God to avert, they would revenge it to the utmoſt upon the *Papiſts*; According to which Vote an Addreſs was drawn up, and preſented by them to the King, with this Variation in the form of words, *We ſhall be ready to revenge upon the Papiſts any violence offered by them to your Sacred Majeſty*; which words were neither expreſt nor intimated in their Vote, altho abſolutely neceſſary and eſſential to the Juſtice of their deſigned Revenge.

And without taking the leaſt notice of the Reſolution expreſt in his Speech, Not to ſuffer any alteration in the Deſcent to the Throne, brought in a Bill to diſable his Royal Highneſs to inherit the Imperial Crown of *England*; which being put to the Vote, was carried in the Affirmative by One and Twenty Voices; but being prorogued ſoon after, it proceeded no further.

In the mean while the Two Houſes were very earneſt in debating the methods, whereby they ſhould bring the Lords in the *Tower* to their Trials: And *Danby* being demanded at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, Whether he would rely on, and abide by the Plea of his

Pardon, returned for anſwer; That having been adviſed by his Council, his Pardon was good in Law, he would inſiſt upon his Plea; and requeſted his Council might be heard: And the Lords acquainting the Commons with his deſire, inſtead of granting it, they in the Names of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament, and all the Commons of *England*, demanded Judgment againſt him upon the Impeachment, affirming his Pardon to be illegal and void. However, the Lords appointed him a day to argue his Plea, and ordered the Five Lords to be tried the Week after, and an Addreſs to be made to the King for the appointing a Lord Steward for their Trials. But the Commons not ſatisfied with their proceedings, deſired a Committee of both Houſes might conſider of the moſt proper methods of proceeding upon Impeachments, according to the uſage of Parliament; but the Lords refuſed it, as contrary to the known Rules and Orders of their Houſe, which ever was, and ought to be tender in matters relating to their Judicature. Whereupon the Commons reſolved, That no Commoner ſhould preſume to maintain the

Validity

Validity of the Pardon pleaded by *Danby*, without the leave of that Houſe: And that the perſons ſo doing, ſhould be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*. Upon which the Lords, to take away all occaſion of diſguſt between the Two Houſes, receded from their former reſolution, and appointed a Committee to treat with them: but a difference ariſing in that joynt Committee, about the Biſhops Right to be preſent at Trials in capital caſes; the Lords affirming, they might ſtay till the Court proceeded to the Vote of *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*; and the Commons denying it, the Biſhops endeavour'd to find out a *Medium* which might ſatisfie both; and therefore deſired leave of the Lords to withdraw themſelves from the Trials, with liberty of entring their uſual proteſtations. But this not ſatisfying the Commons, they reſolved not to proceed to the Trial of the Five Lords, before Judgment given on *Danby*'s Pardon; and to inſiſt upon the Biſhops having no Right of Voting in capital Offences; which made the King, who ſaw that theſe heats took up their whole time, and prevented their entring up-

on such Debates as more nearly concerned them, and would have conduced more toward the setling of the Nation, thought it best to prorogue them, in hopes that in their next meeting their Debates might be more happy and unanimous.

About this time the Faction ran higher in *Scotland*, and boiled into an open Rebellion, which took its first beginning from the barbarous Murder of Dr. *Sharp*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and Primate of that Kindom, on the 3*d* of *May*, 1679. by a company of inveterate Covenanters, as he was travelling from *Edenborough* to his own Residence; who had born him an immortal hatred, because having formerly been one of their Party, he had *revolted*, as they termed his honest *Reformation:* But appeared more visible toward the latter end of that Month in the *Western* parts of *Scotland*, when a party of Rebels, well mounted and armed, coming to *Rugland*, proclaimed the Covenant, burnt the following Acts of Parliament, *viz.* Those which concerned the King's Supremacy, the Establishment of Episcopacy, the appointing the Anniversary of the

29*th*

29th of *May*, and the Reciſſory Act; by which all the Mock-Laws made in the late Anarchy, were repealed: And publiſht an inſolent Declaration, full of Treaſon, and ſtuft with the very Spirit and Quinteſcence of Rebellion, inviting others to joyn with them; which the Covenanters (commonly there called *WHIGS*; from whence the Name was afterward brought into *England*, and applied to all the Diſſenting Party) accepted of, and flockt ſo faſt to them, that their Army increaſed daily to ſuch a conſiderable number, that they became formidable. Whereupon the King haſtned away the Duke of *Monmouth*, as his *Generaliſſimo*, to ſuppreſs them; which with the Aſſiſtance of the Loyal Gentry and Herritors of that Nation, he eaſily performed in one Battel at *Bothwell Bridg*: For having forced his paſſage over the Bridg, and ſeized the only piece of Cannon they had, they fled toward *Hamilton-Park*: And altho they afterward rallied again, and Faced about, upon the advantage of a riſing ground, yet ſo ſoon as the Cannon began to play on them, they all fled in diſorder and confuſion; *Robert Hamilton*, who

was

was their chief Commander, being one of the first. There were many of the Rebels kill'd in the place, and several hundreds taken Prisoners, whereof some few were Executed.

The King, who was willing to try all means to please and satisfie his people, fearing the Animosities of that Parliament were too great to admit of a Reconciliation, and would prevent their doing any thing which would tend to his, or the Kingdoms benefit, on the 10*th* of *July* dissolved it by Proclamation, and declared his Resolution to call a new one, which should sit on the 17*th* of the following *October*.

In the mean while Sir *George Wakeman*, with *Marshall*, *Rumley* and *Corker*, three *Benedictine* Monks, were tryed before the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, for High Treason, relating to the Plot: But the Evidence of *Oates* and *Bedlow*, beginning now to be less credited than formerly, and the ferment of peoples fury being somewhat abated, the Jury brought them in *Not Guilty*; and *Wakeman* was thereupon discharged from his Imprisonment, as the other Three had likewise

wiſe been, had they not in their Defence upon their Trials, acknowledged themſelves to be Prieſts.

Wakeman's being thus acquitted, ſtartled the Mobille, who expected all that were accuſed of that Plot, ſhould have been condemned of courſe, without reſpect to the Truth or Falſhood of the Accuſation. And the Faction endeavoured to improve their diſſatisfaction into Rage and Sedition, by ſeveral ſcurrilous Libels, wherein they accuſe *Scroggs* of perverting Juſtice, and taking a Bribe of ſeveral thouſand Guinneas from the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to ſave *Wakeman*'s Life; from which Aſperſions he ſufficiently cleared himſelf in a Speech which he made in the *Kings-Bench-Court*, on the firſt day of the enſuing *Michaelmas-Term*.

During this interval of Parliament, the King was violently taken ill of an *Ague* at *Windſor*, inſomuch, that his Life was thought to be in ſome danger: Whereupon the Duke (as well to demonſtrate his Affection to his Brother, as to prevent the danger which, as things then ſtood, might peradventure have happen'd to him in caſe the King ſhould have died in his abſence) came

Poſt

Poſt from *Flanders* to *Windſor*. But Heaven deſigning to lengthen out his Life, till he had reduced the great Affairs of the Nation to a better Settlement, and could leave his Succeſſion more ſafe and ſecure; it pleaſed God that he recovered his Health ſoon after to the great Joy of all the whole Nation. And the City to expreſs the pleaſure they took therein, ſent the Lord *Mayor*, and the Court of *Aldermen*, with a Train of thirty Coaches, and about a hundred Horſe, to Congratulate him upon his Recovery; and when he returned ſoon after to *White-Hall*, many Bonefires were made throughout the whole City, attended with great Acclamations of Joy, and Expreſſions of Loyalty.

Whilſt he lay Sick at *Windſor*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had been by the Kings favour raiſed to as high a Station as a Subject was well capable of (being then Lord General of all His Majeſties Land Forces, Maſter of the Horſe, and Captain of the Kings Life-Guards) not content with the Honours already heaped upon him; but aſpiring, as was thought (altho without all Reaſon, in regard of his Illegitimacy) to

to the Crown it ſelf; endeavoured to prevail with ſome great Men at Court, to take part with his Intereſt; which being made known to the King by the Earl of *Oxford*, who having for his eminent Loyalty, a conſiderable party of Horſe under his Command, commonly called the Lord of *Oxfords* Troop; was importuned by Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* (as was reported, either in direct terms, or ſo as his meaning might eaſily be underſtood) to declare himſelf for *Monmouth*, in caſe the King ſhould dye. He conceived a juſt Indignation againſt him for that bold and audacious Attempt, and diſcovered his incenſed Majeſty, by taking away his Commiſſion of Lord General, and ſoon after of his remaining places of Captain of the Life-Guard, Maſter of the Horſe, Governor of *Hull*, *&c.* And to prevent Peoples being deluded by his Chimerical Fictions, publiſht a Declaration, wherein having firſt taken notice of the great Induſtry and Malice wherewith men of ſeditious and reſtleſs Spirits ſpread abroad a moſt falſe and ſcandalous Report of a Marriage or Contract of Marriage at leaſt, between

Mrs.

Mrs. *Walters* (who was that Dukes Mother) and him; designing thereby to fill the minds of his loving Subjects with doubts and fears, and divide them if possible into Parties, by bringing into question the clear and undoubted Right of his true and lawful Heirs and Successors to the Crown; he did, to obviate the fatal consequences so dangerous and malicious a report might have in future times upon the Peace of his Kingdoms, assure them, That having found a former Rumor that there was a writing yet extant, and lately produced before several Persons whereby that Marriage or Contract at least would appear, was not only revived again, but improved also with new Additions, by insinuating that several Lords and others were yet living, who were pretended to be present at the Marriage; he had (notwithstanding, he knew full well it was impossible there should be any truth in this Report, since nothing in the World could be more false and groundless, than the pretence of such a Marriage or Contract between him and the said Mrs. *Walters* alias *Barlow*) called before him, and caus

cauſed to be Interogated in Council ſuch Lords and other Perſons, as the common rumour ſurmiſed to have been preſent at the pretended Marriage, or to know ſomething of it, or of the ſaid writing. And that, tho it then appeared to all his Council upon their hearing the ſaid Perſons ſeverally Interrogated, and their denial to have been ever preſent at any ſuch Marriage, or to know any thing of it, or of any ſuch writing; that the raiſing and ſpreading that Report, which was ſo inconſiſtent with it ſelf, was the effect of deep malice in ſome few, and of looſe and idle diſcourſe in others; yet he thought it requiſite for the ſatisfying all in general, to publiſh a Declaration he had made in the *January* was Twelvemonth, written with his own Hand, in the following words.

There being a falſe and malicious Report, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad by ſome who are neither Friends to me, or the Duke of Monmouth; *as if I ſhould have been either Contracted or Married to his Mother; and tho I am confident that this idle Story cannot have any effect in this Age; yet I thought it my*

Duty

Duty in relation to the true Succeſſion of this Crown, and that future Ages may not have any pretence to give diſturbance upon that Score, or any other of this nature, to declare, as I do here Declare in the Preſence of Almighty God, That I never was Married, nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatſoever, but to my Wife Queen Katharine, *to whom I am now Married.* In Witneſs whereof he had ſet his Hand at *White-Hall*, the *6th* of *January*, 167⅘. In the Preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the two Secretaries, *Coventry* and *Williamſon.*

And aſſured them, that to ſtrengthen that Declaration, he had in the *March* following, made a more publick and ſolemn Declaration to the ſame purpoſe in his Privy Council written, likewiſe, with his own Hand, and had cauſed a true Tranſcript thereof to be entred into the Council Book, which for the better Confirmation he Signed with his own hand, and cauſed the Lords of the Privy Council then preſent, to do ſo too, and had ordered the Original to be kept in the Council Cheſt, where it ſtill remains.

This

This Declaration was likewiſe inſerted, as it was entred in the Council Books, and was as follows.

For the avoiding of any Diſpute which may happen in time to come, concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown; I do here Declare in the Preſence of Almighty God, That I never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was Married to any Woman whatſoever, but to my preſent Wife Queen Katharine. White Hall *the* 3d *day of* March, 167$\frac{1}{2}$. CHARLES R.

And that none might ſtill remain doubtful, or queſtion the Truth of his former Declaration, he concluded that Declaration with the following Proteſtation.

And we do again upon this occaſion call Almighty God to Witneſs, and declare upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, and the Word of a King, That there was never any Marriage had or made between us, and the ſaid Mrs. Walters, *alias* Barlow, *the Duke of* Monmouths *Mother, nor between Us and any Woman whatſover, our Royal Conſort Queen* Katharine, *that is, only excepted.* Requiring and Commanding all his Subjects of what degree ſoever, that they ſhould

not presume to utter or publish any thing contrary to the Tenor of that Declaration at their Peril, and upon pain of being proceeded against according to the utmost Severity and Rigor of the Law.

Whereby all the groundless hopes of that Duke, and the idle and ridiculous Expectations of many factious and designing Persons were wholly disappointed. And he was moreover commanded by the King to depart the Land, which he did on the 23*d* of *September*, and went over to *Utrecht*, but returned again privately and without order, about the latter end of the next month.

About this time there was much discourse of a new Plot, and several Narratives publisht about it, wherein the Papists, as was affirmed, had contrived to charge the *Presbyterians* with a conspiracy against the Government; the chief Discoverer whereof was one *Dangerfield*, who had formerly been a vile and profligate Fellow, and was then newly got out of *Newgate*. Several Persons were accused by him as Conspirators therein, the chief whereof was the Countess of *Powis*,

Powis, Sir *Robert Payton*, *Gadbury*, and one *Cellier*, a Widwife, in whoſe houſe Sir *William Waller* pretended to find ſome Papers that related to the Conſpiracy, from whence it was called the *Meal-Tub* Plot, and the Effigies of the Pope in all his Pontificalibus, was on the Birth-day of Queen *Elizabeth*, which is the 17*th* of *November*, Burned with much more Pomp and Splendor than it had been in former years (it having been a cuſtom for ſeveral late years ſo to do.) The Effigies of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was carried on a Horſe, with a Bell-man to mind the people of his Murder; ſeveral Prieſts in Copes, with a large ſilver Croſs, ſix Jeſuits, divers Biſhops, ſome in thin Lawn Sleeves, and others with their Copes and Miters on, and ſix Cardinals going in proceſſion before him.

The King having according to his promiſe, called a new Parliament to meet on the 17*th* of *October*, Prorogues it to the 26*th* of the following *January*; and toward the latter end of *November*, the Duke of *York* went into *Scotland*, where his Preſence was very acceptable, and all Perſons declared

the great ſatisfaction they took in having him amongſt them.

The appointed time of the Parliaments ſitting drawing near, great endeavours were uſed for the procuring a multitude of Hands to Petitions, which were to be preſented to the King for his permitting the Parliament to Sit on the 26*th* of *January*, according to the laſt prorogation; which petitioning being unwarrantable and tumultuous, he order'd the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to take care for the preſervation of his Honour, and the Peace and ſafety of the City, and not ſuffer ſuch Perſons that ſhould ſign ſuch Petitions, or go about to get hands to them, to eſcape unpuniſhed; and iſſued out a Proclamation to forbid all ſuch kind of petitioning; and another to declare his Reſolution for the farther prorogation to the 11*th* of *November*; notwithſtanding which, ſome reſolutely went on with their petitioning; and not long after, one from *London*, ſubſcribed with many Thouſand hands, and others from *York*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *and Wiltſhire*, were preſented to Him, which he received indeed; but knowing that ſuch kind of

Petitions

Petitions were rather Commands than Requeſts, reſolved not to gratifie the unruly Petitioners, and therefore on the *26th* of *January*, when thoſe Members who were in Town, met according to cuſtom at the Parliament-Houſe, he acquainted them, That when he declared in Council his Intention of putting off the Parliament to a time ſo remote as *November*, it was not without mature Conſideration; and that he ſaw nothing which had hapned ſince in reference to the Affairs within the Kingdom, which gave him occaſion to alter or repent that Reſolution; and that altho he would in regard to the preſent danger which threatned ſome of his Neighbours and Allies, appoint a day for their meeting again in *April*, yet the Diſtractions and Jealouſies at Home were of ſuch a nature, and had been ſo heightned and improved by the malice and induſtry of ill men, that he was unalterably of an opinion, that a longer interval would be abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing mens minds, in order to which he feared the moſt proper Remedies would prove ineffectual without the aſſiſtance of ſome farther time; and therefore reſol-

ved, that at their meeting in *April*, there ſhould be a farther prorogation unleſs the condition of his Allies abroad, did then require their immediate aſſiſtance.

In the mean while Articles of high Miſdemeanor were offered by way of complaint to the King and Council againſt the Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, by *Oates* and *Bedlow*, to which he returned his Anſwer, and ſo the buſineſs fell. And in *Hillary* Term Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne* a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman of 85 Years of Age was arraigned at the Kings Bench Bar, on an Information of High Treaſon; the Witneſſes againſt him, being *Balron*, and *Mowberry* two of his own Servants; but their Evidence being ſomewhat doubtful and improbable, he was acquitted.

The King opened the Year 80, (which was remarkable for many revolutions, though all in the end concluded peaceable and well) with calling the Duke out of *Scotland*, who was upon his arrival complemented by the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Common-Council of *London*: About which time alſo, *Secretary Coventry* having

ying reſigned his office, the King made choice of Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to ſucceed him, and on the 15*th* of *April* the King being abſent at *Newmarket*, ordered his Chancellor *Finch* by vertue of a Commiſſion under the great Seal to prorogue the Parliament to the 17*th* of *May*, from whence it was afterwards prorogued to the firſt of *July*.

And now ſeveral Countrys which had been active in promoting petitions, began to be aſhamed and recant their Actions; the City of *Weſtminſter* leading the way, their Grand-Jury by a publick and formal act diſowning the Action, and charging it on certain factious perſons unknown to them, which they deſire Mr. *Withins*, Steward of that Court, to repreſent in their Names to the King, which he accordingly did, and received the Honour of Knighthood as a Reward of his Loyalty. After which ſeveral ſuch like addreſſes were directed from many of the Counties; and that from *Norfolk* had a farther acknowledgment of their humble thanks to the King for calling home the Duke. And the Lord *Shandois* having been elected by the Turky Company to go Embaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, and

desiring the Kings approbation; the King told him, that having been concerned in promoting petitions, which were derogatory to his Prerogative, and tended to sedition, he could not think him fit for his Favour; whereupon he humbly acknowledged his fault to the King in Council, protesting that he had been misled and drawn into it, by being perswaded it was for his Majesties Service; but being now better informed, he abhorred and disowned all such Practices, and humbly begging his Pardon, he as freely obtained it.

Upon the 18*th* of *May* so great a Storm of Hail fell in *London* and the adjacent parts, that the like had not been seen in many Years before, the Stones being of an extraordinary bigness, and very hard till they had lain a while, many of them being as large as *Pullets* Eggs. One which I saw measured was somewhat more than Nine Inches about; several *Rooks* in the *Temple* Garden being beaten down and killed with them, and the Glass of many Sky-lights battered and broken to pieces.

And

And now the Parliament which had been ſeveral times this Summer prorogued, met on the 21ſt of *October*, according to the King's Declaration to them at their meeting in *April*; to whom he declared, in a Speech to both Houſes, That he had, during that long prorogation, made Alliances with *Holland* and *Spain*, and deſired money of them for the relieving *Tangier*, the defence whereof had very much exhauſted his Treaſure; and adviſing them not to meddle with the Succeſſion of the Crown, but proceed to the diſcovery of the Plot, and the Trial of the Lords.

The Commons having choſen Mr. *Williams*, a *Barreſter* of *Grays Inn*, and Recorder of *Cheſter*, for their Speaker, to convince the World, that the King had not without Reaſon deferred their ſitting ſo long; and that neither he, nor the Nation would have been loſers if they had not ſate then, fell to purging their houſe, expelling Sir *Robert Can*, a Burgeſs for *Briſtol*, for having ſaid, there was no other Plot but a *Presbyterian* one; and Sir *Francis Withins*, for having declared himſelf an Abhorrer of the late tumultuous Petitions

tions for the Parliaments ſitting. The former was committed by them to the *Tower*, and both ordered to receive their Cenſure on their knees from the Speaker; Several other Members were likewiſe declared guilty of the ſame Offence with Sir *Francis Withins*. And not content with puniſhing their own Members, they take notice of others, who were without their Walls, amongſt whom Sir *George Jeffries*, Recorder of *London*, one of the King's Serjeants at Law, and Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, became the Object of their diſpleaſure, and was Voted a Betrayer of the Subjects Rights; and an Addreſs was made to the King to remove him from all publick Affairs: and Impeachments Voted and drawn up againſt Sir *Francis North*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *William Scrogs*, Chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the puiſny Judges of that Court, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, for ſeveral pretended miſdemeanors; that of Sir *Francis North* being the adviſing and drawing up of the Proclamation againſt Petitions.

But

But not contenting themſelves to deal with Subjects, they proceeded next to a matter of a far greater concern: For on the 11*th* of *November*, notwithſtanding the King's deſire at their opening, That they would not meddle with the Succeſſion; a Bill paſt in the Houſe of Commons, intituled, *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *Duke of* York *from inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Territories thereunto belonging:* which notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made againſt it by the unbiaſſed and Judicious Loyaliſts (who tho their Reaſons were ſtrongeſt, yet their number were feweſt) was carried up to the Peers by the Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by almoſt all the Commons, who gave a Hum at the delivery of it. The Lords having ordered it, upon their departure, to be read, put it to the Vote, whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time; which being carried in the Affirmative by Two Voices only, after the ſecond reading it was debated till Eleven a Clock at night, the King being preſent all the while; and then thrown out of the Houſe by a Majority of about

Thirty

Thirty Voices; in which number were all the Biſhops then preſent, to ſhew how careful the Prelacy is to promote Monarchy.

Soon after the Parliament proceeded to the Trial of *William* Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, which began in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *Tueſday* the 30*th* of *November*; and the Impeachment and Evidence upon the ſame were managed by a Committee of the Commons; and the Witneſſes againſt him were *Oates*, *Turberville*, and *Dugdale*. The Lord Chancellor *Finch* was created Lord High Steward for the ſolemnity of his Trial, which laſted a whole week; and being found *Guilty* by the Majority of Four and Twenty Voices, he received Sentence on the 17*th* of *December*; and on the 29*th* of that Month was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, proteſting his Innocency with his laſt breath; as all thoſe had done who died for the Plot before him. Some were ſo bold as to queſtion the King's power to diſpence with the Rigor of the Sentence; and the unhappy Lord *Ruſſel* was ſaid to be one of them.

During

During these publick Transactions, a large and prodigious flame of Light appeared in the *West*: The Star from which the Blaze proceeded, was but small; and when first discovered, seemed to be not much above the *Horizon*; but every night after appeared somewhat higher in the beginning of the night, and consequently set later, its lustre and magnitude decreasing by degrees. Whether this finger of the Almighty so visibly seen in the Heavens, portended good or bad Events to the World in general, or *England* in particular, is a matter too mysterious for me to unfold; and therefore shall I leave it till made more plain by the Effects, which will be the best Commentatary thereon.

The King finding the Commons taken up with other business, without taking the least care of providing him Money for the supplying his pressing wants, and the relieving *Tangier*, then besieged by the Emperor of *Morocco*, recommended the matter more seriously to them, in his Speech on the 15*th* of *December*: But all the Answer he could obtain from them, was an Address, complaining of several pretended Grievances,

Grievances, and refuſing all ſupplies of Money for the Relief of *Tangier*, or any other uſe, unleſs he would paſs a Bill for the Excluſion of the Duke; and to enable all Proteſtants to aſſociate themſelves for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion: which Addreſs he anſwered by a meſſage to the Commons, wherein he let them know, That he had received their Addreſs with all the diſpoſition they could wiſh to comply with their reaſonable deſires; but upon peruſal of it, he was ſorry to ſee their thoughts ſo fixt on the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine all other Remedies for the ſuppreſſing of it, to be ineffectual; telling them, That he was confirmed in his Opinion againſt the Bill by the Judgment of the Lords, in their rejecting it; adviſing them to conſider of all other means for preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, to which they ſhould have no Reaſon to doubt his concurrence; and urging them again to make ſome ſpeedy proviſion for the preſervation of *Tangier*.

Upon the conſideration of which Speech, they were ſo far from complying with his reaſonable deſires, that they

they Reſolved, as the Opinion of the Houſe, That there was no ſecurity for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or the well Conſtituted and Eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom, without the Bill of Excluſion; and that to rely upon any other Remedy, were inſufficient and dangerous: That till ſuch a Bill was paſt, they could give the King no ſupply without danger to his Perſon, hazard to the Proteſtant Religion, and unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom they were truſted: And that all perſons who adviſed him in that Meſſage to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Excluſion-Bill, had given him pernicious Counſel, and were promoters of *Popery*, and Enemies both to him and the Kingdom; naming *Halliſax*, *Worceſter*, *Clarendon*, *Feverſham*, and *Lawrence Hide*, Eſq; againſt whom they Voted an Addreſs to the King, to remove them from all Offices of honour and profit, and from his Councils and preſence forever: Voting moreover, That whoſoever ſhall Lend, or cauſe to be Lent by way of Advance, any Money upon the branches of the King's Revenue, ariſing by *Cuſtom*, *Exciſe*, or *Hearth-Money*, ſhould be adjuged

adjudged to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and ſhould be reſponſible for the ſame. But their preſumption running ſo high, the King reſolved, by a Prorogation, to give them time to cool themſelves, which he did on the *Monday* following, being the 10*th* of *July*; when he paſt Two Bills, one about *Iriſh* Cattel, and the other for burying in Woollen; the latter whereof proved very advantageous to the Nation by the advance of Wool, which is accounted the moſt ſtaple Commodity of this Kingdom. The Commons, by ſome means or other, were informed of the King's deſign of proroguing them; and therefore ſo ſoon as they were ſet that morning, the very firſt thing they did, was to thunder out their Threatning Votes, That whoſoever adviſed the King to prorogue that Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing the Bill of Excluſion, ſhould be lookt upon as a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Kingdom of *England*, a promoter of the *French* Intereſt, and a Penſioner to *France*.

And

And in a Common-Council, assembled bout Two or Three days after in *London*, a Petition was ordered to be drawn up, and presented to the King, wherein they set forth, That the Parliament having convicted One of the Popish Lords, and being about to convict the other Four; and having impeacht the Chief Justice, and being about to impeach other Judges, and all in order to the preservation of his Life, *&c.* they were much surprised to see it prorogued in the height of their business: and that their only hope was, its being done with a design to bring such Affairs about again, as were necessary to the setling the Nation: Praying that they might therefore sit at the day appointed, and so continue till they had effected the great Affairs before them. But before the 20*th* of *January* arrived, to which they had been prorogued, the King declared them dissolved by Proclamation, and intimated his pleasure to call another, to sit on the 24*th* of *March*, at *Oxford*. After which a Petition was delivered him by *Essex*, and some others of the popular Lords, for the altering his Resolution for the Parliaments sit-

ting at *Oxford*, upon pretence, That neither himſelf nor they could be in ſafety there, but would be daily expoſed to the Swords of the *Papiſts* and their Adherents; whereby their Liberty of Speech would be deſtroyed, and the Validity of their Acts and Proceedings left diſputable. Urging likewiſe the ſtraitneſs of the place, which they affirmed was altogether unfit for the entertaining ſuch a concourſe of perſons as now followed every Parliament: And that the Witneſſes which were to give Evidence upon the Commons Impeachment, were unable to bear the charges of that Journey, and unwilling to truſt themſelves under the protection of a Parliament, which was it ſelf under the power of Guards and Soldiers; praying it might therefore ſit at *Weſtminſter*.

The Parliament which met at *Oxford*, was for the moſt part made up of Old Members, which were choſen again for the ſame places for which they had ſerved before: And contrary to the ancient cuſtom of their Treating the Country, the Country now in many places Treated them; or at leaſt, every man bore his own charges. About Eigh

Eight days before their ſitting, the King having appointed certain Companies of Foot, and ſeveral Troops of Horſe to keep Guard in the *Mews* during his abſence, removed to *Oxford*, where he was received and preſented by the Mayor and Body of that City, at the *Eaſt-Gate*, and from thence attended with great Acclamations, and all other demonſtrations of Joy; and was the next day waited on and complemented by the body of the Univerſity, who preſented him with a large *Oxford-Bible*, and the Queen with the Cuts belonging to the *Hiſtory and Antiquity of the Univerſity*; both richly bound.

Moſt of the Members, as well Commons as Lords, went thither, attended with a numerous Train of Friends. At the opening of the Seſſions, the King told them, That the unwarrantable proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons, was the only Reaſon why he had diſſolved them: And that as he would never uſe Arbitrary Government himſelf, ſo he was Reſolved never to ſuffer it in others. That whoſoever ſhould calmly conſider the proceedings in the laſt Parliament, might perhaps

wonder at his patience ſo long, rather than that he grew weary at laſt. That it was as much his intereſt and care as theirs, to preſerve the Liberty of the Subject, ſince the Crown could not be ſafe when that was in danger: And that neither Liberty nor Property could long ſubſiſt, when the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown were invaded, or the Honour of the Government brought low, and into diſreputation: Aſſuring them, That he had called them ſo ſoon, to ſhew that the Irregularities of Parliaments ſhould never make him out of love with them: And that he thought the juſt care they ought to have of Religion, ſhould not be ſo managed and improved into unneceſſary Fears, as to be made a pretence for changing the Foundation of the Government; and therefore hoped the Example of the former ill ſucceſs which had attended ſuch kind of Heats, would diſpoſe them to a better Temper, and prevent their laying ſo much weight upon any One Expedient, as to refuſe all others as ineffectual and to no purpoſe; adviſing them to remember, that without the Safety and Dignity of the Monarchy, neither Religion nor Property

Property could be preſerved, which was the Reaſon why he had not, nor could not depart from what he had formerly ſo often declared touching the Succeſſion. But to remove all reaſonable Fears which might ariſe from the poſſibility of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor's coming to the Crown, if means could be found out, that in ſuch a caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government might remain in Proteſtant hands, he ſhould be ready to hearken to any ſuch Expedient, whereby Religion might be preſerved, and Monarchy not deſtroyed; wiſhing them to provide for both, becauſe they ſupported each other. And that they would make the known Eſtabliſht Laws of the Land the Rules and Meaſures of all their Votes; aſſuring them, that he wonld ever make them the Rules of his Actions.

After the Speech, the Commons repaired to their Houſe, and choſe for their Speaker, *Williams*, who had been Speaker of the laſt *Weſtminſter*-Parliament. And being informed upon the 26*th*, That the Lords had refuſed to proceed upon the Impeachment of *Edward Fitz-Harris* (who having

been ſeized upon the Information of *Everard*, one of the Evidences about the *Popiſh Plot*, and Sir *William Waller*, for having framed an Impudent and Damnable Libel againſt the King and Government, had in hopes of ſaving his Life by that means, confeſt himſelf Guilty of what he was charged with; and had the confidence to ſay, he was imployed by the King: pretending moreover to make ſeveral conſiderable Diſcoveries about the *Popiſh Plot*; and accuſing the Earl of *Danby* of having a hand in the Murder of *Godfrey*; whereupon he was impeacht by the Commons of High Treaſon, upon a pretence, that there were matters of too high a Nature in his Trial to be managed in an Inferior Court); and had directed, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt at the Common Law. They with the uſual Heat wherewith the Affairs of that Houſe had been for ſome time managed, Voted that Refuſal of the Lords, to be a Denial of Juſtice, a Violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, an Obſtruction to the Diſcovery of the Plot, and of great danger to His Majeſties Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion

gion; And that for any Inferior Court to proceed againſt him, or any other perſon impeacht by Parliament, was an high Breach of the priviledges of Parliaments. And notwithſtanding the many miſchiefs that had always followed upon, and were the Natural Conſequences of ſuch Attempts, on *Monday* following a Bill was brought likewiſe into that Parliameut againſt the Duke's Succeſſion: And having been read once, was ordered a ſecond reading. Whereupon the King perceiving it would be impoſſible for them to do any thing that might tend to the Honour and Settlement of the Nation, whilſt the Two Houſes were ſo divided with Heats and Animoſities; and the Commons time wholly taken up in debating a matter that no way concerned them, reſolved to interpoſe his power for deciding the quarrel, and convince them, That he would no longer endure to be trifled with and affronted: And therefore having ſent for the Commons to the Houſe of Lords, he told them, That to prevent the ill Effects he foreſaw would follow upon the Heats between them and the Lords, he had ordered

the Chancellor to diſſolve them, which was done immediately, and the King returned the ſame night to *Windſor*, and the next morning to *White-Hall*. And knowing how induſtrious ſome ill minded perſons would be to improve that Diſſolution for the miſrepreſenting his Actions; to prevent his Subjects being deluded by their fair pretences, and bold, tho falſe Affirmations, he publiſht a Declaration, wherein he acquainted them with the Reaſons which induced him to diſſolve both that and the laſt *Weſtminſter*-Parliament: and aſſured them, That he was not however out of love with Parliaments, notwithſtanding the unwarrantable proceedings of the Two former; but would frequently adviſe with them, as his great Council, in hopes ere long to find his people in a better Temper.

As the diſſolution of this Parliament was accounted by the more Intelligent a very wiſe and politick Act, from whence he might expect many good effects; ſo the conſequence anſwered the Expectation: for now all the Weekly Intelligences, and the factious and ſcurrilous Libels, which the Preſs had

had vomited out in great Numbers whilſt they expected impunity from the Parliament, were ſuppreſt, and eaſily huſht into ſilence by an Order of Council.

Sir *Francis Pemberton* ſucceeding *Scroggs* in the Chief Juſticeſhip, great Expectation there was to ſee what would be done in the caſe of *Fitz-Harris*; but all the Judges of *England* having met about it in the Exchequer-Chamber, they reſolved that they might notwithſtanding the Impeachment and the Commons Vote, proceed to try him: And the next day a Bill was preferred and found by the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, and thereupon he was on the laſt day of the Term arraigned at the Bar of the Kings-Bench. But being Three ſeveral Times bid to hold up his hand, he refuſed, inſiſting upon his impeachment in Parliament, and his right to be tried before them; but being at laſt prevailed upon to hold up his hand, and hear his Indictment read, which was for High Treaſon, expreſt in a certain Writing, call'd, *The True Engliſh Man*, full of moſt horrid Expreſſions againſt the King, as if he had been a Conſpirator in the plot

Plot againſt himſelf, and thereupon exciting the Nation to riſe againſt him as one man; he put in a dilatory Plea againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court; alledging, that having been impeached by the Commons in Parliament, he could not be tried there; but the Plea being not under Councils Hand, was refuſed. However he had Time given him to conſider whether he would ſtand by ſuch a Plea, in regard it might prove fatal to him, in caſe it ſhould be overruled; and *Winnington*, *Williams*, *Pollixfen* and *Wallop* were aſſigned him for Council according to his deſire, to argue the ſaid point of Judicature the next *Wedneſday*, if he reſolved to perſiſt in his Plea; which he reſolving to do on *Wedneſday*, was brought again to the Bar, attended with his Council, when the Attorney-General entred a Demurrer to his Plea, and *Saturday* Morning was appointed for his Council to maintain his Plea by Argument, if they could; and the Court having then heard what could be ſaid on both ſides, declared that they meddled not at all with the Priviledg of the Houſe of Commons, or the Juriſdiction of the Lords in Parliament, but only with the Form

of

of the Plea ; and after the debate was over, the Chief Juſtice declared they would take a convenient time to conſider, before they would give their Judgment.

On the *Wedneſday* following being brought again to the Bar, the Court declared they had conſidered the Plea, and conſulted with other Judges about it ; and were of opinion, it was inſufficient; and was therefore overruled, and the Priſoner ordered to plead over ; Whereupon he pleaded Not guilty, and had till the firſt Thurſday in the next Term allowed him for his Tryal.

In the mean while many Loyal Addreſſes flowed from all parts of the Nation full of Congratulations and Thanks to the King for his late Declaration. And in *Trinity-Term*, Dr. *Oliver Plunket* was Try'd for High-Treaſon, the Evidence againſt him being all profeſt Papiſts, affirmed he was made Primate of *Ireland* by the Pope at the *French* Kings Recommendation ; and that he having thereupon engaged to do that King all the Service he could, had actually levied amongſt his Popiſh Clergy great Sums of Money to introduce

duce the *French* Dominion, and extirpate the Proteſtants out of that Kingdom; upon which evidence he was found Guilty, and was together with *Fitz-harris*, who received his Tryal the next day, executed at *Tyburn* on the firſt of the following *July*, proteſting his innocency, and praying for the King, Queen, and Duke.

Preſently after the Tryal of *Fitz-Harris*, his Wife and Maid accuſed the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* of contriving the Treaſonable Libel for which he was convicted, who was thereupon committed to the Tower: And in a Paper delivered at his Execution to Dr. *Haukins* Miniſter of the Tower, for his Wife, he confirmed that accuſation, denying what he had formerly confeſt about *Danby* and the Plot; affirming he was drawn into that confeſſion only through hopes of ſaving his Life thereby. But a Bill of Indictment againſt *Howard* being delivered on the laſt day of the Term to the Grand-Jury of *Edmunton Hundred*, ſworn to by *Fitz-harris*'s Wife, and Maid, and by ſome others, that Jury pretending to be unſatisfied with the Evidence, would have indorſed it with an *Ignoramus*

ramus, had not one of the Clerks of the Crown, who attended them, withdrawn it from them, for which notwithſtanding they were told by the Court, the Kings Attorney might ſtop ſuch proceedings as he ſaw occaſion; they preferred a Bill of Indictment againſt the Clerk to the Jury of *Oſwelſton* Hundred there attending, for that pretended Miſdemeanor.

The Reaſon why ſome Perſons went ſo well attended to the *Oxford* Parliament began now to appear; for about this time there was diſcovery made of a deſign of ſeizing the Kings Perſon whilſt he was there, and ſeveral factious People were thereupon committed to the Tower, viz. *Rouſe*, *Haynes*, *White*, *Colledg*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Papers were likewiſe ſeiz'd. At the Seſſions which began ſoon after, he and *Howard* moved to be bailed, but the Judges told them, it lay not in their power to bail out of the Tower.

At this Seſſions, an Indictment of High Treaſon was preferred to the Grand-Jury of *London* againſt one of thoſe lately committed to the Tower, whoſe Name was *Colledg*: But in regard he was a buſie factious Fellow, and

and ever loved to meddle moſt with that he leaſt underſtood, and paſs his ignorant cenſures upon the great Affairs of State, He was the more commonly known by the Name of the Proteſtant Joyner. But notwithſtanding the Evidence againſt him was full and clear, they returned an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; whereupon part of the Treaſonable Words and Matters, for which he was there Indicted, being tranſacted at *Oxford* whilſt the Parliament ſate there, the Cauſe was removed to that Aſſizes; where he was before the Lord Chief Juſtice *North* tryed upon the ſame Evidence, and condemned and executed.

In a Parliament held at this time in *Scotland*, the Duke of *York* preſided as the Kings High Commiſſioner, and an Act was paſt which aſſerted the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of *Scotland*; aſſerting it to be by inherent right, and that the nature of the Monarchy was ſuch, that by the fundamental and unalterable Law of the Realm it tranſmitted and devolved by Lineal Succeſſion according to proximity of Blood; and that no difference in Religion, no Law, nor Act of

parliamen

Parliament could alter or divert the Right of Succeſſion of the Crown to the neareſt and lawful Heirs, and declaring it High Treaſon either by Writing, Speaking, or any other way to endeavour the leaſt Alteration therein.

The *French Proteſtants* being greatly oppreſt and perſecuted by that King, flockt into *England* in great multitudes, and were received by the King of *England* with abundance of Kindneſs and affection, ordering that his Officers and Magiſtrates ſhould give them the ſame Countenance and Favour with his own Subjects; aſſuring them he would take them into his Royal Protection, and grant 'em his Letters of Dennization; and promiſing to procure in the next Parliament an Act for their *Naturalization.*

A ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being granted by him for the Tryal of *Shaftsbury* and others at the *Old Bayly*, the Bill of High Treaſon preferred againſt *Shaftsbury*, notwithſtanding the Evidence ſwore very full to the Treaſon, was returned by the Grand-Jury (the Foreman whereof was Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*) *Ignora-*

mus,

mus, as a former Jury had done that of *Colledg*. Whereupon the people, whoſe Idol he was, gave a great Shout, and aſſaulted thoſe who were Witneſſes againſt him with that violence, that the Sheriffs to prevent miſchief, were forced to guard them as far as the *Savoy* homeward. Bonfires were that Night made by the Rabble almoſt in every Street; at one whereof Capt. *Griffith* was knockt down, and wounded in the Head, for endeavouring to put it out: And a rout of people marching down *Warwick-lane*, one whereof had his Sword drawn, ſometimes cryed, No *York*, no Popiſh Succeſſor, and then bawl'd out, a *Monmouth*, a *Shaftsbury*, a *Buckingham*, till they were ſtopt by the Watch at *Ludgate*.

But tho the factious Rabble were thus overjoyed at the acquittal of their Idol; yet the ſober and Loyal part of the Nation, had other ſentiments about it, and declared their Indignation in ſeveral Loyal Addreſſes againſt the moſt Execrable and Traiterous deſigned Aſſociation, which was diſcovered in *Shaftsburys* Cloſet, amongſt his other papers, which threatned not the King alone, but Monarchy it ſelf.

In

In *February*, 1682, there hapned a ſtrange and Barbarous Murder, which for the boldneſs of the Attempt, and the baſeneſs of the manner wherein it was perpetrated, is ſcarcely to be parellel'd in any Hiſtory. For *Thomas Thin* of *Long-Leat* Eſq; , a Gentleman of an Eſtate of about 10000 *l. per annum* ; having privately married *Elizabeth*, Daughter and ſole Heir of *Jocelin* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Relict to *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*. And ſome of her Friends, who were not ſo well ſatisfied with the Match as her Grand-mother was, by whoſe means it was ſaid to be made up, having perſwaded her, before ever her New Husband had bedded her , to withdraw her ſelf ſecretly into *Holland*, the Town was thereupon alarumed with the approach of a mighty Suit in Law concerning the Validity of the Match , the beſt Civilians being engaged on the one ſide or the other : And Count *Conings-mark*, a *German* Lord, who had formerly endeavoured to obtain her, came over again to *London* in diſguiſe , and one *Vratz*, who had formerly been a Cap-

tain under him, ſent a Challenge to *Thinn*, with a Threat, That in caſe he refuſed to meet him at the Time and Place appointed, he ſhould be piſtol'd. And finding, that notwithſtanding that Threat, he ſtill ſlighted his Challenge, and refuſed to hazard his Life againſt (he knew not whom, nor upon what ground of quarrel); he with two more well mounted and armed, rode up to his Coach as he was paſſing homeward near the Hay-market, and having ſtopt the Horſes, another of thoſe deſperate Villains, whoſe Name was *George Borosky*, a *Polander*, diſcharged a *Blunderbuſs*, or *Musketoon* at him, charged with ſix Bullets, which were all lodged in his Belly; and then they ſetting Spurs to their Horſes made their eſcape; but the next Morning they were ſo cloſely ſought after that they were all three taken, and being brought to a Trial Tryal before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Pemberton*, were all three condemned and executed upon a Gibbet erected near the place where they committed the Murder; and *Borasky* to terrifie others from ſuch barbarous Attempts was hung up in Chains between *Bo* and *London*. The Count was likewiſe trie

tryed the ſame time as an acceſſary to the Murder; but for want of ſufficient Evidence was acquitted by the Jury.

A ſtrange Accident hapned not long after this, which had like to have proved fatal to theſe Nations, by depriving them of the Ineſtimable Bleſſing which they now enjoy; for his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*, our Preſent Sovereign, going about the beginning of *May* into *Scotland* to fetch home his Dutcheſs, whom he had left there at his laſt return, the *Glocester Frigot*, in which he ſailed, unfortunately ſtriking on the *Lemon-ore* in *Yarmoth Road*, was loſt with about an hundred men, and ſome Treaſure. But Heaven deſigning the Royal Paſſenger to be the occaſion of many future Bleſſings to theſe Kingdoms, and reſerving him for a more honourable Funeral, he was miraculouſly preſerved by going off into a Yatch, which came up to his relief juſt before the Ship ſunk: And returning toward the latter end of that month with his Dutcheſs and the Lady *Ann* to *Whitehall*, the King and Queen came from *Windſor* to congratulate his ſafe arrival, and expreſs

their Joy for his miraculous preſervation.

And the King, who went back again that Night to *Windſor*, was the next Day taken very ill, occaſioned as it was generally thought, by ſome cold taken the day before; but upon bleeding, and the uſe of ſome other proper means, he recovered his former health within a few days, to the great joy of his Subjects.

Sir *John Moor*, an Honeſt Loyal Gentleman, and an Addreſſer, coming this Year to be Lord Mayor of *London*, which City was then ſomewhat diſtempered by reaſon the Chair had for the Two preceding Years been enjoyed by Sir *Robert Claton*, and Sir *Patience Ward*, who inclining to the Fanatick Party, had promoted ſuch Sheriffs and other Officers in that City, as were no way pleaſing to the King, (as appeared by the Anſwer he returned to the Meſſage from Sir *John* to him, to invite his Majeſty to dine with him, and the City, on the day of his Inauguration, *viz.* That he liked the Meſſage, but not the Meſſengers, who were the two Sheriffs, *Pilkinton* and *Shute*); and therefore having now the Power

Power in his Hand, as Chief Magistrate, he resolved to restore *London* to its Loyalty, and leave it in a condition more to the Kings content, than he found it. And in order thereunto, it being an ancient Custom for the Lord Mayor at a Feast kept Yearly at the *Bridg-house*, to drink to him whom he designed to be one of the Sheriffs for the Year ensuing, he drank to Mr. *Dudly North*, Brother to the Lord Keeper, and since Knighted. And on the 24*th* of *June*, which being *Midsummer-day*, was customary for the Electing the Sheriff of *London*; he summoned the several Companies to appear at *Guild-hall*, and confirm *North*, and chuse another Sheriff; but instead of proceeding according to the Ancient custom and method of the City, there appeared two parties; the Lord Mayor and his Party, and the two Sheiffs and their Party, who refused to confirm *North*, and would have both Sheriffs elected by Vote. After some contest, it was agreed to be decided by pol: But those who polled for the confirmation of *North*, and the Election of *Box*, a Drugster in *Cheapside*, who was proposed by *Moor* for the o-

ther Sheriff, being refuſed, and ſeveral mens Names entred for *Papillion* and *Dubois*, that were put up by the Two Sheriffs, and their Party, who had no Right to Vote; the Lord Mayor adjourned the Court by Proclamation, till the 27*th*; and ſo departed out of the *Hall*, altho not without ſome abuſes by the diſaffected party.

However, the Sheriffs would not obey the Adjournment, but upon pretence that the buſineſs belonged properly to them, and not at all to the Mayor, went on with their Poll till night. The next day being *Sunday*, admitted of no Action; but on *Monday* morning, the King, who had been informed of all thoſe Tumutuous Proceedings, ordered the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Two Sheriffs to attend him at the Council-Chamber; and after a full Examintion and Hearing of all that could be ſaid on both ſides, committed the Sheriffs to the *Tower*, for their Riotous Proceeding; whither they were caried through the City in their own Coaches. But having obtained a *Habeas Corpus*, to be brought up to the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, they were admitted Bail, ha-

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ving first pleaded *Not Guilty* to an Information exhibited against them for a Tumultuous and Riotous Assembly, in holding the *Common-Hall* after it had been adjourned, and the Assembly discharged.

The Sheriffs having thus obtained their Liberty, met again on the 5*th* of *July*; and notwithstanding the Mayor, who was then sick, sent the Recorder to adjourn the *Common-Hall* to the 7*th*; yet they and the Multitude proceeded in the Election, and declared their Choice of *Papillion* and *Duboise*. But some Disputes arising when the Mayor and his party met on the 7*th*, according to the Adjournment, about the Legality of that Adjournment, Four *Lawyers* were sent for to the Court of Aldermen, to argue the Validity of the thing; but coming to no Resolution, the Court was adjourned to the 14*th* of that Month. When the King, designing, if possible, to set all things to rights, issued out an *Order of Council*, wherein he commanded them, since all their Proceedings hitherto had been irregular, to begin all Proceedings anew, and carry them on in the usual manner, as they ought to have been

upon *Midſummerday*. This Order was read in the *Common-Hall*; but oppoſed by the adverſe Party with Noiſe and Clamor. However, *Moor* declared *North* duly elected by him; and that he would Poll for the other Three; *viz. Box*, *Papillion*, and *Duboiſe*: and thereupon cauſed Books to be fitted with Three Columns only: But *Pilkinton* and *Shute* refuſing to joyn with him therein, went on by themſelves, and poll'd for Four Heads, with a *Salvo Jure* to their former Election. The next day the Mayor having cauſed his Books to be caſt up, and finding the Majority of Voices to be for *Box*, he declared *North* and him to be Sheriffs. But *Box* refuſing to ſerve, and paying in his Fine according to Cuſtom, the Mayor call'd another *Common-Hall* on the 19*th* of *September*, and propoſed *Peter Rich*, Eſq; to be choſen in his ſtead, who having the Majority of Voices, and being declared Sheriff, the Mayor diſſolved the Court, and returned home. But the Two Sheriffs, notwithſtanding the Mayor's diſſolution, continued this Aſſembly as they had done the former; and demanding of their own Party (the reſt being departed

parted with the Mayor), whether they would abide by their former Choice for *Papillion* and *Duboiſe*, proceeded likewiſe to a Poll; and having caſt up their Books, declared them to be Sheriffs Elect. Whereupon the Mayor acquainting the King with their Proceedings, he commanded them to attend him in Council, where they were ſeverely checkt, and not diſmiſt without giving ſufficient Bail to anſwer to an Information which ſhould be exhibited againſt them for their unwarrantable proceedings.

But notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, they were not ſo diſcouraged as to deſiſt from the like practices for the future: For on *Michaelmas-day*, when the Citizens met for the Election of a Mayor, they muſtered up their utmoſt ſtrength, and appeared with as much Violence againſt Sir *William Pritchard*, the next in courſe, as they had done againſt *North* and *Box*, ſetting up *Gold* and *Corniſh* againſt them, altho *Corniſh* had been Sheriff but the very year before. However, *Pritchard* carried it by the Majority of Voices.

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In this year died the Illuſtrious Prince *Rupert*, in the *63d* year of his Age: The *Conſtableſhip* of *Windſor-Caſtle*, which had been enjoyed by him for many years, being after his Death conferred by the King on the Earl of *Arundel*. And on the *18th* of *December* died *Henreage* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who had enjoyed that place ever ſince it was taken from *Shaftsbury*, in the year —73. and was ſucceeded by Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*.

This year was very remarkable alſo for the Arrival of Two Extraordinary and Famous Embaſſages from Two Princes never known to have ſent any into *England* before, one from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco* (who in his Letter expreſt much Kindneſs, and a great Veneration to the King): His Name was *Hamet Benhamet Benhaddu Otter*; a man of a Majeſtick Preſence, and great Wiſdom: His buſineſs was about ſetling a Peace in relation to *Tangier*; and his Perſon and Converſation was ſo pleaſant and taking, that he was received and careſſed with more Honour and Reſpect, both by the King and

and his Nobles, than any Embaſſador I ever knew at Court: And ſo he was by both Univerſities, which he viſited; ſeeming to have an equal Eſteem and Valuation for our Nation. Nor was there ever any Embaſſador before him ſo much admired by the common people, great multitudes always attending before his Houſe, which was near *Katherine-ſtreet* in the *Strand*, to gaze upon, and wonder at the ſtrange Garb worn by him and his Attendants, one whereof was an *Engliſh Renegado*, formerly a *Barber* ſomewhere about *Temple bar*; but being afterward a Soldier in *Tangier*, he ran away from that Gariſon to the *Moors*, and was by them highly advanced for his perfidious directing them in their Wars againſt that Town.

The other Embaſſage was from the King of *Bantham*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, whoſe buſineſs was about the *Eaſt-India* Trade, who would have been as much admired as the former, if he had come another time; but all mens Eyes were ſo generally fixt upon the *Morocco*, that they were leſs minded than otherwiſe they would have been. They brought the King ſeveral rich pre-

preſents of *Diamonds*, and other things of great value. But not long after their return, we received ill news when we leaſt expected it; For the *Dutch* having under pretence of aſſiſting the Rebel Prince, who was commonly called, *The Young King of Bantham*, againſt his Father, the Old King, ſeized upon that Town, turn'd out the *Engliſh* whom they found there, and ſeized on their Factory, to the great damage of the *Engliſh* Nation.

On the 24*th* of *April* hapned one of the moſt famous and extraordinary Exploits that was ever known in *London*: For one *Broome*, Clerk of *Skinners-Hall*, and *Coroner* of *Landon*, having a *Latitat* out of the *Kings-Bench*, in an Action upon the Caſe, at the Suit of *Papillion* and *Duboiſe*, againſt the Lord Mayor, Sheriff *North*, and ſeveral Loyal Aldermen; Upon acquainting them therewith, they all ſubmitted to his Arreſt, and went with him, as Priſoners to *Skinners-Hall*, where they remained till abont midnight; Eight Companies of the Trained Bands being raiſed by order of the Lieutenancy, upon that altogether new

and

and unuſual attempt, to prevent Tumults. But one *Fletcher*, a Serjeant of the *Poultrey-Compter*, having an Action of Debt, upon a Bond of 400. *l.* againſt *Broome*, who had the Week before promiſed to give Bail to it; but neglecting it, and ſeeing him act ſo imperiouſly againſt the Chief Magiſtrate of the City, took him into cuſtody, and carried him forthwith to the *Compter*. The Mayor, and his Fellow-priſoners, ſeeing *Broome* carried away by a Serjeant, demanded if there were any in the houſe who had Orders to detain them; which being anſwered in the Negative, they all peaceably departed to their ſeveral homes.

In the next Month was tried at *Guild-Hall*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Saunders* (*Pemberton* having been removed to the *Common-Pleas* upon *North*'s receiving the Seal), the great *Riot* committed the year before at the Election of Sheriffs, Fourteen being found Guilty thereof, and Fined.

And the better part of the City, both for Number and Quality, Reſolved at a *Common-Council*, held on the 22*d* of that Month, That notwithſtanding

ſtanding the Action in which the Mayor was Arreſted at the Suit of *Papillion* and *Duboiſe*, was ſaid to be proſecuted at the Inſtance of the Citizens of *London*, yet they to deliver themſelves and the ſaid Citizens from that falſe imputation, did declare, they were no way privy or conſenting to that Action; and therefore did diſown and diſapprove the ſame.

But the City having in the Judgment of Lawyers, forfeited their Charter by ſeveral illegal proceedings, the King thought the beſt way to prevent ſuch kind of Tumults, which might be of ill conſequence to the Nation in general for the future, would be the taking that Forfeiture, that ſo by having the *Charter* delivered up into his hands, they might by a more abſolute dependance upon his Goodneſs, be obliged to a ſtricter performance of their Allegiance, and take the greater care to preſerve the publick peace and quiet. Whereupon he ordered a Writ of *Quo Warranto* to go out againſt their *Charter*, which was grounded chiefly on their illegal exacting of Tolls in their Markets, and their having framed and printed a ſcandalous Petition, wherein the

the King is charged with obſtructing the Juſtice of the Nation by proroguing the laſt Parliament.

Whether theſe were ſufficient grounds of ſeizing their Liberties, were argued *Pro & Con*, firſt by the Solicitor General and the Recorder of the City, and then by the Attorney General and Mr. *Pollixfen*. And Judg *Jones* (the Lord Chief Juſtice being then ſick) having ſumm'd up all the proceedings in a very ſignificant and ſolid Speech, gave Judgment upon it; and declared it to be the unanimous Opinion of that Court, That the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *London* ſhould be ſeized into the King's hands. But Judgment was not entred up, in regard the King had expreſly commanded that ſhould not be done till his pleaſure was further known.

The City now finding the King was in earneſt, and that their *Charter* was condemned by Law, began to think of humbling themſelves at his feet, and ſue for Mercy: And therefore at a Common-Council call'd for that purpoſe, a Petition was ordered to be drawn up and preſented to him at *Windſor*, where he then was; in which they

they acknowledg their hearty and unfeigned ſorrow for the miſgovernment of that City, which had occaſioned the *Quo Warranto* to be brought againſt them, and Judgment to be paſt thereupon: And thankfully acknowledged his great Favour in not requiring Judgment to be immediately entred thereon; in which diſtreſſed condition they humbly caſt themſelves at his Royal Feet, imploring his Princely Compaſſion and Grace; begging his pardon for all Offences, with moſt ſolemn promiſes and aſſurances of conſtant Loyalty and Obedience to him and his Succeſſors, and of a Regular Adminiſtration of his Government in that City for the future; humbly begging his Commands and Directions therein. This Petition was carried and preſented by the Mayor, and ſeveral Loyal Aldermen and Citizens. Upon the Receipt whereof, the Lord Keeper, by the King's Command, declared, That for the ſakes of ſo many of the preſent Magiſtrates, and other Eminent Citizens, who were of undoubted Loyalty and Affection to his Service, he would ſhow the City all the Favour they could reaſonably deſire, if they would ſubmit to ſuch Re-

Regulations as he thought neceſſary forthe aſſuring the Loyalty, and preſerving the Peace of that City; *viz.* That no perſon ſhould be admitted to be Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town-Clerk, or Coroner of *London*, or Steward of *Southwark*, before they were approved by him under his Sign Manual: And that after he had Twice diſapproved the Mayor whom they ſhould preſent to him, he might, if he pleaſed, nominate one himſelf: and ſo alſo for the Sheriff; the Election being nevertheleſs to be ſtill continued according to the ancient Cuſtoms and Uſages of the City, with ſome ſmall Reſtrictions only then ſpecified: which gracious Offer was accepted by a Common-Council aſſembled on the 20*th* of *June*; where the Queſtion being propounded, it was carried in the Affirmative by the Majority of Eighteen Voices.

And now came to light one of the baſeſt and vileſt pieces of Treachery that was ever hatcht in the World; which ſeemed to point out and explain whereto the *Bill of Excluſion*, and the Treacherous *Aſſociation* tended: For thoſe Factious and Deſigning

Wretches having failed of accompliſhing their Deſigns by thoſe ſpecious pretences, reſolved to attempt that by force which they now found they could not effect by Fraud: and therefore entred into a Damnable Plot and Conſpiracy to Murder the King and His Brother, and alter the Government. To effect which, they had at ſeveral Treaſonable Conſultations, reſolved to Levy men, and make an Inſurrection. For the management whereof they made choice of a Council of Six, that were to direct and order the chief matters relating thereunto; *viz.* the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Colonel *Sidney*: Beſides which, there was another Council of more Inferior perſons, whoſe buſineſs was to conſult chiefly about the Aſſaſſination of the King and the Duke.

The King and the Duke being both at *Newmarket*, they reſolved to prevent their ever coming to *London* again, by cutting them both off in their return: To which end, *Weſt*, by the appointment of the reſt, had provided ſeveral Muſquets, and other Arms, which

which were to have been ſent down to a Houſe call'd the *Rye*, inhabited by one *Rumball*, about three Miles beyond *Hodſden*, which was lookt upon as the moſt convenient place for that monſtrous and helliſh deſign, in regard there was by the houſe a narrow paſſage, through which the King uſually came, when he went to and from *Newmarket*; ſo that it would have been hard for him to have eſcaped: But Heaven having preſerved him from the many former Attempts of Men of the like Principles, and diſdaining that Hell ſhould fruſtrate its deſigned bleſſings to theſe Nations as well in the remainder of his Reign, as in his next Succeſſors, by cutting off its Principal Favourite, reſolved to render former Mercies the more compleat and full, by adding a new one to their Number, no leſs apparent and viſible than his Preſervation in the Oak had been: And therefore a Fire which hapned *there*, and conſumed the greateſt part of the Town, forced him to return ſooner than they expected, and before they were ready for him; whereby they were diſappointed of their Barbarous Purpoſe, and not a little confounded

at the Strangeneſs of the Thing, which altho it appeared at firſt ſight to be purely accidental, yet afterward was generally lookt upon to fall out by the ſpecial deſignation of Divine Providence.

But notwithſtanding this remarkable diſappointment, and the conſternation which at firſt ſeized them upon the news of it, they ſtill went on with their Plot, and conſulted about ſome other Time and Place for their Aſſaſſination: But before they could bring their diſtracted Counſels to any concluſion, Providence ſpoiled their Plot: For, one of the Conſpirators, whoſe Name was *Keeling*, being convinced of the Wickedneſs of the deſign, through the care of Heaven to prevent it, by the remarkable Fire at *Newmarket*, was ſo terrified, that he could not reſt till he had made a diſcovery of it: Whereupon *Weſt*, a Councellor of the Temple, was apprehended, and a Proclamation iſſued out for the declaring *Rumſey*, *Rumball*, *Nelthrop*, *Wade*, *Goodenough*, *Wallcot*, *Thompſon*, *Burton*, and *Hone*, Traytors; offering 100 reward to any that ſhould diſcover them; and another againſt *Monmouth*, *Grey*, *Armſtrong*, and *Ferguſon*; *Rum-*

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ſey, the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Eſſex*, Collonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden*, the Lord *Howard*, *Walcot*, *Rouſe*, *Hone*, and ſome others were taken, but the reſt made their eſcape beyond the Seas: The Lord *Grey* indeed was taken, but being after Examination by the King and Council committed to the Tower, he found means to make his eſcape out of the Coach, juſt as he came almoſt at the Tower Gate, having made *Deering* the Meſſenger who had him in Charge, ſo drunk, (as it was reported) that he fell faſt aſleep, and left him wholly unguarded.

The Lord *Ruſſel*, and Collonel *Sidney* were beheaded; and *Walcot*, *Rouſe*, and *Hone* executed at *Tyburn* for this Plot. The Earl of *Eſſex* prevented the Hand of Juſtice by cutting his own Throat; Mr. *Hambden* againſt whom there was but one Evidence, was only indicted, and found guilty of a high Treſpaſs and Miſdemeanor, and condemned in a Fine of 40000 *l.* to the King, to find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life, and to ſtand committed till that was paid and done. The Lord *Brandon*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Charlton*, Mr. *Trenchard*, and ſome

others for want of ſufficient Evidence, were firſt admitted to bail, and afterward diſcharged: Mr. *Wade* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* being both taken beyond the Seas; the firſt at *Mevis*, and the other in *Holland*, were brought into *England*, and condemned and executed upon an Outlawry.

The King to ſhew his Senſe of the Divine Goodneſs for his wonderful and Gracious Preſervation from that horrid Plot and Conſpiracy, publiſht a Declaration for a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be celebrated throughout the Kingdomon Sunday the *9th* of *Septemb.* commanding that Declaration, which contained a ſhort Narration of the Treaſonable Conſpiracy, and the Perſons concerned therein (ſome whereof were not mentioned in either of the Proclamations) to be read on Sunday the *2d* of *September*, as well as on the Day of Thankſgiving, which was obſerved with great Seriouſneſs and Devotion throughout the whole Kingdom, every one looking upon himſelf to have a particular Intereſt in the Benefit of that Preſervation.

It is obſervable, that there was this remarkable difference between the two Plots; all thoſe who died for the firſt, proteſted their Innocency with their laſt breath, denying that they had any knowledg of a Plot or Conſpiracy carried on againſt the King or the Government; and all thoſe who died for the Second did acknowledg ſomething, tho they denied the greater part of what they were accuſed of.

About this time the Lady *Ann*, Second Daughter to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, was married to Prince *George*, Brother to the King of *Denmark*, the Ceremony being performed by the Biſhop of *London* in the Preſence of the King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, with moſt of the Great Perſons about the Court; and that Night was obſerved with great Joy and Splendor; and the next, the Bells proclaimed the publick Joy, which every one took for her being ſo happily beſtowed upon a Proteſtant and Religious Prince, who was afterward inſtalled Knight of the Garter at *Windſor*.

The Day for the Election of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, which

of courſe uſed to be the 24*th* of *June*, was this Year adjourned to the 5*th* of *September*, when the Livery-Men aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, without the leaſt Heſitation confirmed the Mayors choice of *Peter Daniel*, and choſe to ſerve with him, *Francis Daſhwood*, Electing likewiſe Mr. Deputy *Aleworth* into the Office of *Chamberlain* in the Room of Sir *Thomas Player*, who being one of the Rioters in the laſt Years Proceedings, was then removed; and performing all the other Elections of *Bridg-maſter*, *Ale conner*, &c. with the ancient Gravity and Moderation; and a Choice of Mayor on *Michaelmas*-day was likewiſe adjourned for ſix Days. But in the mean time, the King being highly diſpleaſed with the Cities delays in ſigning the particulars formerly accepted of, and promiſed by the Common-Council, in Relation to the Charter, cauſed his Attorney to enter up Judgment againſt it, and thereupon gave his commiſſion to Sir *William Pritchard* to execute the Office of Lord Mayor of that City during pleaſure; granting the like Commiſſions alſo to the two New Sheriffs, *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who were thereupon ſworn with the

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uſual Oaths, and Mr. *Jenner* of the *Inner Temple*, knighted at the ſame time by the Name of Sir *Thomas Jenner*, the Kings Recorder of *London*.

On *Sunday* the *7th* of *October*, the Mayor and Sheriffs appeared at *Guild-hall* Chappel as formerly in their Gowns and Chains, but the Aldermen only in their ordinary habits, being by vertue of that new Commiſſion, only made Juſtices of the Peace; eight of the Factious ones being left out, and their Number ſupplied by as many Worthy and Loyal Gentlemen; *viz.* Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Sir *John Buckworth*, Sheriff *Daſhwood*, *Charles Duncomb*, *Jacob Lucy*, *Peter Palavazine*, and *Benjamin Thoroughgood*. But on the *13th* of that Month the King ſent them a new Commiſſion, wherein he impowered them to act as Aldermen in their ſeveral Wards, and accordingly divers of them attended the Mayor the next day to Chappel after their uſual manner in Gowns and Chains; and the next Week aſſembled a Court of Aldermen as formerly: And upon the *29th* of *October*, which is the Annual Day for ſwearing the Lord Mayor of

London,

London, the King having appointed Sir *Henry Tulse* to execute that Office by Commission during his pleasure; he was after the usual manner attended to *Westminster* by the Companies, performing the accustomed Ceremonies in *Westminster*-Hall, and making the usual Cavalcade through *London*, but without any Pageants.

The Duke of *Monmouth* being accused as one of the Conspirators in the late Plot, absconded, and lay concealed for some time; so as he could not be found by all the search that was made for him: But having privately made his Application to the King in an humble and submissive Letter, wherein he intirely resigned himself to his Majesties Disposal; the Duke thereupon went down to Secretary *Jenkins* his Office, to whom he had voluntarily surrendred himself, and upon shewing himself very sensible of his Crime in suffering himself to be drawn into a Conspiracy against the King and Government, and making a full Declaration of it, and a particular Submission to his Royal Highness for his misbehaviour toward him, he did upon the request and Mediation of the

Duke

Duke obtain his Pardon, and the Attorny-General was ordered to ſtop all further Proceedings againſt him; But refuſing afterwards to make the promiſed Diſcovery, or to ſign what he had confeſt, he fell again into the Kings High Diſpleaſure, and was thereupon baniſht the Court, and expelled the Royal Preſence.

About the middle of *December* this Year, began a very extraordinary Froſt, which laſted till the 5*th* of *February*; during which time the *Thames* was frozen over with ſolid and contiguous Ice, with thouſands of People walking thereon, and whole ſtreets of Booths built quite a croſs, and ſhops of almoſt all manner of Trades on each ſide, as in the high ſtreets of *London*, and Coaches running almoſt as thick as in *Fleetſtreet*. The extremity of the Weather was ſuch, that great numbers of poor and indigent People, who at other times could but juſt live, were now (in regard they could not follow their imployment) brought into great neceſſities, and many of them muſt have ſtarved if the charity of others had not relieved 'em; whereupon the King, who always loved to take all opportunities

portunities to expreſs his charity and affection to his Subjects, eſpecially thoſe that were poor and indigent among them, granted his Letters Mandatory to the Biſhop of *London* to make a Collection in all Pariſhes in the City and Suburbs for the Relief of many Thouſand miſerable Wretches, who would otherwiſe have periſhed; and to encourage others to ſo needful a charity by his own example, ordered ſeveral great Sums of Money to be iſſued out of his Treaſury for that Purpoſe. On the 23*d* of *January*, being the firſt day of *Hillary* Term, the Lawyers went over the *Ice* to *Weſtminſter*, and back again as familiarly as on the Land, ſome on Foot, and others in Coaches; and there was for above a fortnight together a Fair or Mart kept between the Temple, and that part of *Southwark* which is oppoſite to it.

This Year *Vienna* the Imperial City of *Germany*, was cloſely beſieged, and greatly diſtreſſed by the *Turks*, who brought it to the very laſt extremity, but were then beaten off, and forced to raiſe their ſiege, by the Bleſſing of God, upon the Valour of the King of *Poland*,

Poland, and the Duke of *Lorrain*; in which Action, the Lord *Landſdown*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bath*, behaved himſelf with ſo much Valour, that he was afterward, as a Reward of his Courage, created a Count of the Sacred Empire.

And *Tangier*, having coſt the King abundance of Treaſure to defend it againſt the *Moors*, and make the Mole there, he now reſolved in regard the charges were ſo very great, and the Expectation of Advantage very uncertain, to relinquiſh it; and therefore ordered the Lord *Dartmouth* to repair thither wih about 20 ſail of Ships, and demoliſh the Town, Caſtle, and Mole, choak up the Haven (to render it uſeleſs to any who might otherwiſe have thought the Town worth rebuilding) and bring off the Inhabitants, which was done accordingly.

About the middle of *February*, 1684. was the Earl of *Danby*, after a long and tedious Impriſonment, admitted to Bail, by the Eminent and Loyal Sir *George Jeffrys*, who ſucceeded Sir *Edward Sanders* in the Lord Chief Juſticeſhip of *England*, all the Judges of the Kings-Bench having firſt given their

their ſeveral opinions about it, and delivered their Reaſons why he ought to be bailed; and the other four Lords (one of them, *viz. Peters*, being dead ſometime before, having juſt before his Death, in a Letter to the King, denied upon his Salvation, his being any way Guilty of what he ſtood accuſed of) being within the like Reaſons, were admitted to the like advantage; and ſo was the Earl of *Tyrone*, who had been almoſt as long a Priſoner in the *Gate-houſe*, as they had been in the Tower.

The King having about the Year 81 appointed under him certain Deputies or Commiſſioners of Eccleſiaſtical Offices; *viz.* The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Radnor*, *Halliſax*, *Hide*, and Mr. *Seymor*; to whom he delegated his Power to diſpoſe of all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Preferments as were within his immediate Patronage, was pleaſed this Year to revoke their Commiſſion, and take thoſe preferments again into his own immediate diſpoſal; as likewiſe a commiſſion formerly granted to ſeveral Perſons to execute the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, which was now again fully enjoyed

and

and exerciſed by his Royal Highneſs.

Acts of Hoſtility being t his Spring fiercely purſued between the *French* and *Spaniards* by Sea and Land, he commanded by Proclamation, that being at Amity with both thoſe Nations, the Peace ſhould be kept inviolably by them, whilſt they were in any Roads, Creeks, and Ports of his Dominions, and that his Commanders and Officers ſhould oppoſe themſelves againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to aſſault any of the Ships of his Allies in any of his Roads or Places under his Protection.

Oates the *Salamanca* Doctor, and Plot-Maſter-General, not content with having falſly charged his Royal Highneſs, the Kings only Brother and Heir, with divers baſe and improbable Stories, as tho he had plotted with the Papiſts againſt the King his Brother, ſuffered his Spleen to boil to ſuch an exorbitant degree, that he ſaucily and impudently abuſed him with baſe and ſcurrilous Language; calling him Traytor, declaring, That he hoped to ſee him hang'd, with divers horrid deviliſh, and abominable Expreſſions; The Dukes patience not being eaſily

provoked

provoked, bore long with him; but finding that forbearance did but render him more bold, and increaſe his malignity, at laſt he brought his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt him, upon which he was arreſted at the *Amſterdam Coffee-houſe* on the back-ſide of the *Royal Exchange*, and carried to *Woodſtreet Compter*, and from thence removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the Kings Bench; and having let Judgment go in the next Term by default, a Writ of Enquiry was iſſued out and executed before the Lord Chief Juſtice in the Kings-Bench Court, when the Jury upon hearing the Evidence, to ſhew their deteſtation of ſuch an unheard of impudence, gave 100000 Damages.

The *Hambrough* Company out of Gratitude for ſome great Favour received from the King, did this *Spring* erect a moſt elaborate and curious Statue of him in Gray *Marble*, in the very middle or Center of the *Royal Exchange*; cut by Mr. *Grinlin Gibbons* (the moſt Famous Statuary that *England* ever produc'd; and equal, if not ſuperior to the beſt at this Time in *Europe*) in the Garb and Habit of a *Roman Cæſar*: It was placed upon a curious

curious Pedeſtal made of the ſame Marble; upon which was the following Inſcription.

Carolo II Cæſari Britanico
Patriæ Patri.

Regnum optimo, Clementiſſimo, Auguſtiſſimo
Generis Humani Deliciis,
Utriuſq; fortunæ Victori,
Pacis Europæ Arbitro,
Maris Domino & Vindici,
Societas Mercatorum Adventur Angliæ,
Quæ per CCCC *jam prope Annos*
Regia Benignitate floret
Fidei Intemerata, Gratitudinis Æternæ
Hoc Teſtimonium
Venerabunda poſuit,
Anno ſal. Humanæ,
MDCLXXXIV.

The Council ſitting on the 28*th* of *May*, at *Hampton* Court, as it uſed frequently to do when he was at *Windſor*, as the moſt convenient place for his coming to it, he told them that he thought it fit, and did intend his Brother ſhould be preſent at the Meetings of the Council, who accordingly took

his Seat that Day, and ever after during his Brothers Life.

And in *October* following, the King made a Review or Muſter of his Land-Forces upon *Putney Heath*, where there was a moſt gallant Military Appearance, the Horſe conſiſting of the Three Troops of Guards, the *Granadeers*, the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment of Horſe, and the Lord *Churchels* Regiment of *Dragoons*, and the Foot of two *Battalians* formed, and the Regiment of Guards, with their *Granadeers*, one from the *Coldſtream* Regiment of Guards and *Granadeers*, one from the Earl of *Dumbartons* Regiment, and another from the Admiral Regiment with their *Granadeers*; the whole Number of Horſe and Foot, between 4000 and 5000, being all exactly trained, and well cloath'd, moſt of the Horſe march'd in the morning in Gallant Order through the Streets of *London*, and ſo over the Bridg to *Putney*.

This *Michaelmas* Term, ſeveral Factious Perſons were convicted of ſpeaking ſcandalous and ſeditious Words againſt the Government; for which one *Beſt*, commonly call'd the Proteſtant

ſtant *Hop*-Merchant was fined 1000*l.* and ordered to ſtand in the Pillory thrice, and find ſecurity for his Good Behaviour during Life: And one *Butler* of *Northamptonſhire*, for Preſenting and Reading to the Knights of the Shire (at the laſt Election for that County), a ſeditious Paper of Addreſs, was fined 500 Marks, and order'd to find Sureties for his Good Behaviour during Life: And *Dalby* and *Nicholſon*, two Retainers to the *Salamanca* Doctor, were ordered to ſtand in the Pillory for ſeveral falſe and ſcandalous Speeches utter'd by them: But the moſt remarkable of all, was the Buſineſs of one *Roſwell* a Conventicle-Preacher, about *Redriff*, who was this Term tryed and convicted of High Treaſon, in certain treaſonable words ſpoken by him in his Preachment, on the 14*th* of *September*: But ſome queſtion ariſing about the Form of his Indictment, which was argued by Council on both ſides, the Court took time to conſider of their Judgment till the next Term, before which time *Roſwel* obtained the Kings Gracious Pardon, who ever loved to endear his Subjects by Acts of Kindneſs, rather than to

terrifie them by Examples of Juſtice.

In this Term alſo was *Oates* indicted for Perjury, in relation to *Irelands* being in *London* at the time ſworn to by him at *Irelands* Tryal; and being brought up to the Kings Bench-Bar to hear his Indictment read, and pleading Not guilty, his Tryal was appointed the next Term; and at the Seſſions, which followed ſoon after at the *Old-baily*, he was again Indicted upon a ſecond Indictment for Perjury, and upon pleading Not Guilty, that was alſo appointed to be Tryed the next Term at the Kings Bench Court.

The Roads being now exrteamly infeſted with Robbers, the King order'd, for the eaſe and ſafety of his Subjects, that all his Officers of Juſtice, and others, ſhould with their utmoſt diligence endeavour the apprehending of High-way men and other Robbers, promiſing, That thoſe who ſhould apprehend any of them, ſhould have a reward of Ten Pounds for every Offender taken by them, and delivered into Cuſtody.

A little before *Chriſtmas*, when the minds of men, in regard they were then to celebrate the Commemoration of

of the Incarnation and Nativity of the Prince of Peace, ſhou'd have been wholly taken up with thoughts of Peace, the reſtleſs and implacable Spirits of the factious and deſigning crew, that were not yet ſo depreſt as to be deprived of all hopes of reviving their Game, were notwithſtanding, otherwiſe employ'd; for about this time, they diſpers'd in a ſecret and clandeſtine manner, a moſt wicked, falſe and treaſonable Libel, relating to the Death of the late Earl of *Eſſex*: Wherein they would have born the World in hand, that he did not murder himſelf: Strict enquiry was made after the Author, and ſeveral of the Books ſeiz'd, but the Author could not be diſcovered; only *Henry Danvers*, commonly called Collonel *Danvers*, an Anabaptiſt by Profeſſion, and a Principal Officer in the late Rebellious Army, was found to be the Author of a certain Sheet, which was an abſtract of that Libel, wherein the very Quinteſcence and Venom of it was crowded into a ſmaller Compaſs; and a Warrant thereupon was ſent out for his Apprehenſion; but being an old cunning Fox, he fled upon the diſcovery, whereup-

on the King gave Publick Notice in the *Gazette*, That whoſoever ſhould apprehend him, and cauſe him to be deliver'd into ſafe Cuſtody, that he might be proceeded againſt according to Law, for thoſe dangerous and treaſonable Practices, ſhould have a reward of 100 *l.* to be immediately paid by the Lords of the Treaſury.

In the beginning of this *Hillary* Term, Sir *Scroop How*, one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Nottingham* in the late Parliaments, appearing in the Kings Bench to anſwer to an Information exhibited againſt him for Words ſpoken againſt the King and his Brother, pleaded Guilty, confeſſing his Offence, and with much ſorrow caſt himſelf upon the Kings and the Dukes Mercy; whereupon being the next day introduc'd to them, he was after his humble ſubmiſſion to them, and promiſes of future Loyalty and Obedience, receiv'd to Grace; and being deeply affected with that unmerited favour, acknowledg'd that he did in point of Gratitude for the Kings Goodneſs therein, owe him his Life and Eſtate, and would for the future dedicate Both to the

ſervice

ſervice of him, and the Royal Family.

But *Englands* Glorious Sun of Happineſs and Tranquility, which had ſhined bright and reſplendent for near Five and Twenty Years together, muſt now ſuffer a fatal Eclipſe, and be for ſome few days wrapt up in Black and Mournful Clouds, and have it's Glory totally, tho not finally obſcur'd by the Lamented and much Deplored Death of this happy and wonderful Monarch; for upon Monday the ſecond of *Febru-ary*, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplectick Fit, which was ſo violent, that in all probability he would never have reviv'd again, had not Doctor *King*, (who being one of his Phyſicians, was then preſent, having been that morning with ſome others of the Kings Phyſicians to look upon a ſore Heel which he had for ſome time) immediately let him blood; by which and other proper means afterward uſed he ſeemed to be in ſo fair a way of recovery, that the Lords of the Council thought fit, for the preventing of falſe Reports, to publiſh on *Thurſday*, That ſome Hours after the Kings being firſt taken, an amendment

appeared, which with the Bleſſing of God improved by the Application of proper and ſeaſonable Remedies, was then ſo far advanc'd, that the Phyſicians conceiv'd him to be in a condition of ſafety, and that he would in a few days be freed from his Diſtemper.

The People in divers Places of the Country where it had been poſitively reported he was dead, receiv'd this news of his Recovery with incredible joy, expreſt by the Ringing of Bells, and Bonfires; but in few days all was dampt again by the certain and unwelcome news of his Death; For when neither the endeavours of men, nor the invocations of Heaven could prevail, he expired on Friday the Sixth of *February*, having lain all that time in abundance of pain and miſery, which he endur'd with incredible Patience, often lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, and breathing forth the fervent deſires of his Holy and Pious Soul, in ſeveral Short but ſweet and Pathetick Ejaculations. Kings in reſpect of their Office are ſtiled *Gods* in the Sacred Writ, and are, like him, immortal, and therefore can never die; but their Perſons being made of

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the ſame mouldring Principles with the meaneſt of their Subjects, they muſt die like men; and when the time appointed for their diſſolution is come, it is impoſſible either for men or Angels, Phyſick or Phyſicians to detain them longer here; for they may with as much eaſe diſſolve the Covenant of the Night and Day, keep the Sea from flowing, and the Sun from ſhining, as preſerve Kings from being hurried, as well as the reſt of mankind, to the place appointed for all Living.

As no King was ever better beloved by his Subjects whilſt living, ſo none ever died more lamented than he; for an Univerſal grief poſſeſt the minds of all men, and like a Cloud ſuddenly ſpread it ſelf over the whole Nation, upon the arrival of that doleful Tidings. He died in the Fifty fourth Year of his Age, after he had reigned Thirty ſix Years and ſome few days; leaving his Kingdom, which he found almoſt ruin'd with a bloody and unnatural War, in a ſtate of Tranquility and Peace; Which as it magnifies the happineſs of his Subjects by comparing their preſent felicity with their paſt Troubles, ſo it lays the higheſt obligation

on

on imaginable upon them for ever to entertain the ſacred Memory of his Name with the greateſt Love and Veneration, His reducing a People plunged, and almoſt ſwallowed up in confuſion, into a quiet not to be expected, and ſcarcely to be hoped for, and aſſwaging by his incomparable Prudence a Faction blown up into a tempeſtuous flame more violent and deaf than either the Winds or the Seas, rendred him the moſt Glorious and Admired Prince, and his Subjects the moſt happy People in Chriſtendom; and therefore in what Words, or rather with what Deeds can they ever expect to expreſs a Gratitude any way equal to his merits? Statues of *Marble*, and tryumphal Arches may indeed be an acknowledgment of our Veneration, but theſe are Trifles too mean to diſcharge our debt, and therefore all true *Engliſhmen* ſhall raiſe him a more laſting Monument, by entombing him in their Hearts, and expreſſing their love to their Dead Sovereign, by their unfeigned Loyalty to their Living One, our preſent Gracious King and Governour *James* the Second; who immediately upon his Death ſucceeded

to

to his Throne. For Nature is not more careful to prevent a Diſſolution of being, than the Conſtitution of *England* to prevent an *Inter-Regnum* of Government; ſo that the ſame minute which ſeems to threaten the involving our Iſle in Darkneſs and Confuſion, by the ſetting of one, really revives our dying-hopes, and diſpels our ſable Clouds by the riſing of another Sun, for whom I ſhall pray as the *Iſraelites* did for King *Solomon*, That God, by whom alone Kings reign, and have their Governments Crown'd with Peace and Felicity, may pour upon him the Bleſſings of Heaven in as great a meaſure as upon his Royal Predeceſſor, and make his Throne greater than the Throne of our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, and grant him long to Live and Reign over us in Peace and Tranquility.

His Funeral was privately Solemniz'd on the 14*th* of *February*, with as much Decency and Splendor, as the greatneſs of the Sorrow for his Death would permit; His Corps being convey'd ſometime before to the Painted Chamber in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, was carried from thence to the *Abby-Church*, under

der a *Velvet Canopy*, born by Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, the *Pall* being ſupported by ſix Earls. The proceedings begun with the Servants of the Nobility, Their Royal Highneſſes, the King and Queen, the Queen Dowager and His own, after whom fo llowd the Barons, Biſhops, and others of the Nobility, according to their reſpective Degrees, together with the great Officers, and the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark* was chief Mourner, ſupported by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Beaufort*, in the Collors of the Order, as were all the reſt of the Knights of the Garter then preſent; and his Train born by the Lord *Cornbury*. The Aſſiſtants to the chief Mourner, were ſixteen Earls. The Crown and Cuſhion was carry'd by one of the Kings of Arms: The reſt of the *Heraulds* and their Officers Attending and Directing the Ceremony, which was clos'd with His Majeſties Band of Gentelmen-Penſioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard.

As ſoon as they entred the Church, the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*, with the whole Quire met the Body, and

and went before it to *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel, where it was interr'd in a Vault, under the *East* end of the *South* Isle.

THUS have I endeavour'd to present the World with a *Brief* draught of the *Life* of this most *Excellent* King, from the Time of his *Birth*, to the never-enough lamented and most deplorable *Murder* of his *Royal Father*, and of his *Reign* from that Time until the hour of His *Death*. And having now traced him through all the stupendious *Labyrinths*, and wonderful Revolutions of His Life, to his exchanging a Crown of Gold for one of Glory; I shall *close* my *History* with his

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Character. A Character, which were I able therein to repreſent him to the Life, and give him his Juſt and deſerved *Praiſe*, would not be parallel'd in *Ancient*, and remain a *Wonder* to all ſucceeding Generations. But his Perfections were ſo ſublime and rare, that my *Repreſentatious* of him will no more bear *Proportion* to his *real worth*, than the twinkling *Figure* of the *Sun* ſhining in the *Water* (wherein he views himſelf as in a Looking-Glaſs) is *adequate* to the *Greatneſs* of that real body of *Fire* and *Light*, whereby he claims the *Regency* of Heaven.

This *Monarch* as to his *Perſon*

ſon, was of a *tall* and *goodly* Stature, and ſo exactly form'd, that the moſt curious and penetrating Eye, after the exacteſt *Scrutiny*, could not diſcern the *leaſt Error* in his *Shape*; his *Countenance* very *Majeſtical*, and the Viſage of his Face, rather *Grave* than *Severe*, being very much *ſoftned* whenever he *ſpake*. His *Complection* ſomewhat *dark*, but much enlighten'd by the *brightneſs* of his *Eyes*, that were quick and ſparkling. His *Hair*, which before he wore a Peruke, in great *plenty*, was of a *ſhining black*, not frizled, but naturally *Curling* into large *Rings*, and very *Ornamental*. But as the *Jewel* is more valuable than the *Casket* that contains it, ſo

His Perſon.

the perfections of his *Mind* did much exceed thoſe of his *Body* (if we can allow the ſame *Man* any *Preheminence* over *himſelf*) in reſpect whereof he ſeemed to be a perfect *Miracle* of *Art* and *Nature*, having in the *Myſteries* of Both, a moſt capacious and *profound Knowledg*, or one of the *beſt* ſort of *Wonders*, both in reſpect of his *Virtues* and his *Fortune*; a Wonder to *Wiſe men*, who admired his *vaſt Parts*; a Wonder to His *Enemies*, who admir'd at His *Preſervation* from their Snares; a Wonder to his *Friends*, that admired at the *Adverſity* of his *Fortune*, and the *Patience* wherewith he endur'd it; a Wonder to the *World*, which admired the *ſtrangeneſs* of His *Reſtoration*, and were

were aſtoniſh'd to ſee him, (notwithſtanding there was at that Time an *Army* on Foot, to keep him out, which had been *flush'd* with ſo many *Victories*, and (as it were) by Preſcription was able to beat the *World*, or at leaſt had Courage and Confidence enough to attempt it) return without ſpilling *one drop* of Blood, or having an *Hand* held up againſt him to oppoſe his *Entrance*.

He had been himſelf a *Sufferer*, and had thereby learnt to Govern his *Subjects* with Moderation. He had been in Miſery, and that taught him to be Merciful. He had been *unjuſtly* dealt with, and that made him the more careful to ſee *right* done to all men, and *His Juſtice.*

measure his own *Prerogative*, and his Peoples *Properties* by the just *Dimension* of his *Laws*; so that *Justice* was impartially *administred* throughout his whole Reign, unless where *himself* was *party*, and there he would rather lose his *own Cause*, than have his *Subjects* seem oppressed; nor was there ever known so few *Executions* in so long a *Reign*. And truly when we (especially for the *first Eighteen Years* after the *Interregnum*) consider his *great* Mercy to *Traytors*, it looks as if he design'd not to *spare himself*, provided he could but *people* again, or at least keep as full as possibly, a *Nation*, which had been so monstrously emptied of men, by a long unnatural and sanguinary War.

For

For he was ever unwilling to inflict the leaſt *Severities* upon his offending Subjects, unleſs when *neceſſity* of State, or the *nature* of the Crime did bind the hand of Mercy, and render Severity *abſolutely* neceſſary, rather for the *publick*, than his *own* Secuirty.

He always profeſſed to love and ſeek *Peace*, and prefer it before the *Troubles* and *Hazards* of *War*; wherein he was like *Solomon* rather than *David*, and imitated our *Bleſſed* Saviour, who ſtiles himſelf the *Prince of Peace*, ever bearing it in his *Princely mind*, that when *Chriſt* came *into* the *World*, *Peace* was ſang by the Holy *Angels*, and when he made his *Exit*, *Peace* was the Legacy he bequeathed. Nor can it be imagined, That his

his desire of *Peace* was the effect of *softness* or *fear*; for he was both Active and Valiant: but he had a *Conduct* peculiar to himself in bringing about *his Purposes*, and *accomplishing* his designs by the most easie and gentle *means*, and would do that by Peace which *others* could not perform by War, and effect more by *shewing* his Sword, than others could do by *using* it: He knew the way to *preserve* and obtain *Peace*, was sometimes to pretend an *inclination* to embrace War, and therefore would, when *provok'd*, make offers of the latter, till he had mended the Conditions of the *former*. By which means he was more *absolutely*, and with far

His peaceable disposition.

far *leſs charge* to his Subjects, the *Arbitrator* of *Europe*, than any of his Predeceſſors had ever been, and could at his Pleaſure diſpence War and Peace, where, and to whom, he pleas'd; which makes it the greater Wonder, That He who was ſo great a Lover of Peace, ſhould be ſo ſucceſsful in War: for his *Arms* were always *fortunate*, nor did he ever after his *Reſtauration*, know what a *miſcarriage* meant. The Two *Rebellions* in *Scotland* were ended by *Victory*, as if raiſed *induſtriouſly* to encreaſe the Fame of his *Arms*, which after ſo long an *interval* of Peace, *wanted* exerciſing; and in his Wars with *Holland*, *France*, *Spain* and *Denmark*, he was always ſued to for peace, before

he granted it; and the *French King* did ever fear his *Threatnings* more than other *Princes performances.*

In the *exerciſing* his Sovereignty, he conſulted his own *Judgment* rather than other mens *Affections* or *Intereſts*, and always reſerv'd the *diſpoſal* of his *Royal Favours* to his own *Will* and *Pleaſure*; and to avoid the fate of too *many Princes*, who are ruled by their *Favourites*, and Govern'd by thoſe whom they themſelves have raiſed, he never admitted any of his *Nobles* to ſo *familiar* an *intimacy* with him, as to give others occaſion to account them his Favourites: For altho he had many *Noblemen* about

His care to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown.

bout him, whom he greatly *loved*, and upon whoſe Advice and Counſel he much *rely'd*, as *Clarendon*, *Buckingham*, *Lauderdale*, *Danby*, and others; yet none of them could be properly called his Favourites, as *Gaveſton* and *Spencer* were the *Favourites* of *Edward* the Second; or the *Duke* of *Norfolk* of *Richard* the Second: And altho he would frequently acquaint his Parliaments with his *Intentions*, and require their *advice* and aſſiſtance for the *executing* of them, yet he would not endure they ſhould be too *poſitive* or *peremptory* therein, accounting that too great an *Invaſion* of his Prerogative; and would tell them, The *Right* of *making* and *managing* War and Peace, was inveſted

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in Him, and if they thought he would depart from any part of that Right, they would find themſelves miſtaken; for having the Reins of Government in his own hands, he would have the ſame care to maintain them there, as he would have to *preſerve* his own Perſon.

His Prudence and Conduct in managing the great Affairs of his Kingdom was ſo admirable and ſucceſsful, that it is rather to be wondred at, than believed, and he made ſo many *good* and *wholſome* Laws, every one whereof was grounded upon the moſt *ſearching* Maxims of State for the *Welfare* and ſecurity of His Subjects and the maintaining the *prerogatives* of the *Crown*, as no Age before him could ever boaſt

boaſt of, which begot in all men the greater Awe and *Veneration* of him; and yet there is nothing more certain, than that his Reputation was as great (if not greater) *abroad* than at home, tho perhaps not ſo *well grounded*: for *Forreigners* could not ſee at that diſtance the *paſſages* of Affairs, nor diſcern by what Secret Councils he always attained his *own ends* and *diſappointed* the Expectation of his *Enemies* abroad, and the *Factions* at Home, and were therefore forced to make their *Judgment* upon the *Iſſues* and Succeſs of them: No Prince ever had a *Wiſer Council* than He, and yet no Prince ever *needed* it *leſs*, for he was *Himſelf* a *Counſellor* to his *Council*,

His Prudence and Conduct.

Council, and was able to direct thoſe of whom he asked advice. For he was as well skilled in the Art of Kingſhip (as His Royal Grandfather was wont to term it), and had as great an inſight into, and underſtood as well the beſt Rules and Methods of Government, as any Prince that ever ſway'd a Scepter; which rendred him more capable of exerciſing his Kingly Office to the greateſt advantage of Himſelf, his Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion, and enabled Him to govern His Subjects for ſo long a Tract of Time with ſo much exactneſs, that by his Wiſe and Prudent Management he ſo poized all jarring and different Intereſts, as to preſerve the publick Peace and Tranquility of his

his Kingdom to the very laſt Minute of His Life, notwithſtanding the many reſtleſs Attempts of unruly and deſigning Men, to diſturb it; and left things in ſo good a poſture at his Death, that his moſt Illuſtrious Brother, and Royal and Lawful Succeſſor, aſcended his Imperial Throne with as much Facility and Applauſe as any of his Predeceſſors.

He loved ſo well to ſee his Subjects *thrive*, that he coveted not ſo much to fill his *Exchequer*, as to reign over a Rich and *Wealthy People*; and thought Money as well *beſtowed*, when laid up in *their* Coffers, as when it filled his *own*.

He was *Religious* toward *God*, as well as juſt towards man, and took care to promote the

the *Intereſt* of the *Church* as well as the *State*. At His *Reſtoration* he found the Church involved in *Trouble*, but left her *poſſeſſed* of Peace; he found her robbed and ſpoiled, but left her Wealthy and Rich. Her Prelates He reſtored to their Ancient *Rights* and *Dignities*, and filled Her Converts with Joy and Gladneſs.

His Religion and Piety.

He did not, like moſt Princes, make *Religion* an *Artifice* of State only, but accounted it the *Glory* and Comfort of his *Life*: His Soul in His *private Devotion* ſoared ſo *high*, that he ſeemed to be wholly *ſwallowed* up with the Contemplation of the *Holineſs* and *Majeſty* of the *God* whom he adored, and with whom he would

would plead in *Prayer* ſo *earneſtly*, and with ſuch *Affection*, as tho he were reſolved to take no *denial*. And one of the *Presbyterian Miniſters*, who attended the *Commiſſioners* (ſent over by the *Parliament*) at *Breda* paſſing *accidentally* by, when he was private in his Cloſet, he was ſo aſtoniſhed at the *Ardency* and *Zeal* wherewith he offered up his Sacrifices of *Prayer* and *Praiſes* to *Almighty God*, that he ſuddenly clapt his hand upon his *Heart*, and with a kind of *Emotion* of Spirit, cried out to thoſe that were with him, *We are not worthy of ſuch a King*. And that which was the *perfection* of all, his *piety* and *zeal* proceeded not ſo much from a *deſire* to *ſeem* Religious, as

from

from a *ſolemn Dedication* of his great *Soul* to the *Honour* and *Glory* of his *God*, by whom *alone* he knew *Kings reign*, and *Princes decree Juſtice*: Accounting himſelf (like *Theodoſius* the Emperor) more happy in being a *ſervant of Chriſt* than in his being *King of great Brittain* and *Ireland*. He was from his *Infancy* Eduducated in the *Proteſtant Religion*, and Inſtructed by the *Royal Martyr* in the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church* of *England*. And yet he was not a *Proteſtant* ſo much by *Education* as *Choice*, as appeared by his *conſtant* adhering to the *Church* of *England* in the time of his *unhappy Exile*, when he was abſolutely *free* to have *profeſs'd* what Religion he *pleaſed*,

pleaſed, and had ſo many *Temptations* (from the baſeneſs and villany of his own *Subjects*, and the *kindneſs* of thoſe *Popiſh* Princes by whom he was entertained, and from whoſe *Aſſiſtance* he expected *relief* againſt the unjuſt *Oppreſſion* of thoſe that had *Uſurp'd* his Throne) to embrace the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *Rome*. And the reaſon why he ſo *ſtrenuouſly* endeavoured to *promote* and *maintain* an *Uniformity* in *Religion* through all his *Dominions*, was not ſo much to *Juſtifie* his own *Supremacy* in *Eccleſiaſtical* Cauſes, as thereby to ſtrengthen the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, knowing that the *ſafety* of *England* conſiſted chiefly in the *Union* of her *Inhabitants*. So that

his knowledg in the ſacred Myſteries of Religion, was the Crown and Glory of all his other Perfections; and the great end and deſign whereat He aimed in all his other Studies, was the improving them to the Glory of God, and the increaſing in Himſelf the knowledg of more ſublime and heavenly things, wherein He ſo much excelled, that He might have ſaid with King *David*, *I am wiſer than all my Teachers.* Knowing likewiſe that nothing obſtructed the *growth* of *Piety*, and the power ot Godlineſs, more than the *waſting* thoſe *parts*, and *ſpending* that *time* in *diſputing* about *Forms*, which ought wholly to be *employed* in promoting *Holineſs* of Life, and *Sincerity* of Heart.

He

He had, during his *Exile*, visited the *Courts*, and Travelled through the *Countrys* of the three greatest and most Potent *Monarchs* of *Christendom*, viz. *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*; and had by his *Observation* made himself Master of what was excellent and worth learning in their *Forms* and Methods of *Government*, and exactly inform'd himself what were the *Excellencies*, and what the defects of each of them: And to the *Admiration* of those who had the Happiness to converse with him, had by that means obtained an universal insight into all the great and *weighty Affairs* of *Europe*, and understood by what Principles they

His Travels.

were firſt moved, and by what *Counſels*, and to what *ends* they vvere aftervvards *carried* on; vvhich tho he *chiefly* learned from *themſelves*, yet vvhat he gathered from them all in *General*, vvas ſtrange and *ſurprizing* to *every* one of them in *particular*, who greatly wondred at the *Comprehenſiveneſs* of his Knowledg: So that as he had by *right of Nature*, a *Power* of *Empire* over the *Bodies* of one *Part* of *Europe*, He might ſeem by a *Natural* and acquired right, to claim an *Univerſal Monarchy* over the *Intellectual* Powers, the *Minds* and *Wills* of Mankind, in *all* the Parts of it *beſides*.

He underſtood *Spaniſh* and *Italian*, and ſpake and wrote *French* correctedly; was well verſed

verſed in Ancient and Modern *Hiſtory*, and had read the *choiceſt* Pieces of Politicks and Divinity, and underſtood the *fundamental Laws* of *England* ſo well, that he could readily anſwer the moſt difficult Queries, and reſolve the greateſt Myſteries and Critical *Niceties* that were at any time ſtarted about them; and had his mind ſo well furniſhed with the knowledg of *Nature*, and the *Reaſons* of *Things*, that He comprehended almoſt all kind of *Arts* which contributed any Thing either to the *Delight* or *Service* of Mankind.

His skill in Arts and Sciences.

He underſtood the trueſt and beſt Method for Building of *Ships*; and could, better than thoſe who pretended

themſelves the greateſt *Craftſ-maſters* therein, direct the making them far more uſeful both for *Strength* and *Sailing*, than any which had been formerly built; and was as well acquainted with *Rigging* and *Fitting* forth a *Fleet* for Sea: He had great Skill in *Guns*, knew all that belonged to their *caſting*; and could tell upon *firſt* view, whether they were *mounted* to do Execution, or not.

He was a great Lover of *ſtately Buildings*, and ſeveral Curious Edifices were either built or repaired by Him: But his *greateſt* Coſt and Care in that kind was laid out in *Windſor*-Caſtle, which he took more *delight* in, than in any other of His *Palaces*. Nor were His Buildings all for *Pomp*, but ſome

ſome for *Charity*; witneſs that Curious and Stately Fabrick of *Chelſey*-Colledg for the Entertainment of *decayed* Soldiers. He underſtood Navigation, Aſtronomy, and all the parts of the Mathematicks to ſuch a Degree that he is ſuppoſed to have attained a greater Perfection therein, than any Prince ever did before Him; and took ſo much delight in thoſe Pleaſant and Uſeful Studies, that he endeavoured, as much as poſſible, the promoting them in others; Witneſs His Worthy Gift to the Hoſpital of *Chriſt*-Church for the Annual breeding up a certain Number of the moſt Ingenuous of their Children in the Mathematical Studies; and the Liberal Rewards which were

frequently beſtowed by Him upon Ingenious Men, that had any way contributed toward the making thoſe Studies more eaſie and delightful, or had been imployed by him in any thing relating thereunto.

His *Recreations*, for the moſt part, were very *ſtirring*, and ſuch as tended to the making his Body more *Robuſt* and ſtrong, and maintaining it in *Health* (which he enjoyed to as great a degree as any Prince in the World ever did), ſuch as *Riding*, *Hunting*, *Fiſhing*, *Tennis*, and the like. He loved *Walking* extreamly, which he would do ſo *faſt*, that his Courtiers were ſometimes forced to *run*, that ſo they might keep

His Recreations.

keep pace with him: It being his *conſtant Cuſtom* every morning when he was in *Town*, to Walk an hour or more in St. *James's* Park; and he deſigned to have done ſo that *very morning* he fell into his *Fit*. He took great pleaſure likewiſe in *Swimming*, which he could do incomparably well to the *Pleaſure* and *Admiration* of thoſe, that beheld him. And indeed all his *Recreations*, as well as thoſe publick and private *Actions*, which had a more direct *tendency* to the great *concerns* of his Life, as a *King*, gave delight and ſatisfaction to thoſe who communicated in the *ſight* of them: And his very *Diverſions* were ſo *ſerious* and pleaſing, that every part of his time was thought to be *well* ſpent,

ſpent, and to deſerve *Commendation.*

Never was Prince more *loving* and affectionate to his *Queen* than he; for he ever reſented *Affronts* offered to her, as ill as if they had been offered to *himſelf*; And was as tender of her Honour as of his own. He was obſerved by the *Courtiers* to be more Rich and Splendid upon her *Birth-day* than upon his own, and to keep it with greater Joy and *Solemnity.*

His Love and Affection to his Queen.

The vaſt Treaſure of Learning and Knowledg which he had acquired by his long *Study* and *Experience*, was richly ſet off and *adorned* by a curious, ſmooth, and *charming Eloquence*, whereby he could

readily

readily expreſs his *Sentiments* of things in ſo good a Language, as that with a *pleaſing* kind of *Magick*, it enchanted the *liſtning* Ears of thoſe that heard him, as ſufficiently appeared by his Letters, Declarations and Speeches.

And to conclude all, He was every way fitted, and made for *Government*, as well as *born* to be a *King*; and was poſſeſſed of all thoſe *excellent Qualifications*, which were we to have had a liberty of *choice*, would certainly have *conſtrained* us to have pitched upon him for our *Sovereign*. For the *valour* of *Edward* the 3*d*, The *Conduct* of *Henry* the 5*th*, the *Wiſdom* of the *Seventh Henry*, the *Majeſty* of his *Great Son*, the *Learning* of *James* the 1*ſt*, and

and the Juſtice and *Piety* of the *Royal Martyr*, and (I had almoſt ſaid) the Mercy of *God* himſelf, all met and were *conſpicuous* in him.

FINIS.

EPIGRAPHE.

Ævitati
S.
Numinis Majeſt. CAROLI II.
Inclyti *Magnæ Britanniæ* Genii
ac Regis,
Divi CAROLI *Martyris* F.
Qui
Ex Proſapia *Deorum* oriundus,
Et ad *Anglicani* Nominis Æternitatem
Natus,
Patriæ fuit *Parens*, Pius, Paciferus, &
ſemper Auguſtus.
In *Exilio*, frendente *Rebelli Barbarie*,
Magnanimus:
Sub *Reducis Fortunæ* auſpiciis, *Albionum* Fundator Imperii,
Literarum *Mecænas*,
Factionis *Stator*, Defenſorq; *Fidius*.
Tam *Virtute* Fortis, quam *Pietate*
Clemens,
Supra omnes retro Principes,
(Prope XXV. Annorum Spatio)
Amplificatam

Amplificatam toto Orbe dedit *Remp.*
Factis Conſiliiſque.
Paucis; Nihil non inluſtre fuit, niſi
Immortalis:
Obiit igitur, ut Immortalis eſſet,
Sexto die Menſis *Februarii*,
Anno *Regni* ſui *Triceſimo-Septimo*
Ineunte,
Annoq; *Soſpitatoris* Noſtri
1684.
Triumphate tamen, etiam Pullati
Brittones,
Neq; dum *Terram* defuncto Principi
vovetis *Levem*,
Sub onere doloris veſtri ingemiſcite:
Vivit enim CAROLUS in Superſtite
JACOBO,
Et, ut *Diu vivat*, ſtrenuè Precaminor.
Adeſto, FAMA;
Multum tibi *Negoti* video dari.
Contemplare JACOBUM II. Reg. Opt.
Max.
Mavortem Britanicum,
Et cogita Novam *Fatorum* Seriem.
O Referant Divi, *quoniam non poſſum*
Ipſi!

A Prayer for the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty taken out of the *Liber Regalis*.

GOd the unſpeakeable Author of the World, Creator of Men, Governor of Empires, and Eſtabliſher of all Kingdoms who out of the Loins of our Father Abraham didſt chuſe a King that became the Saviour of all Kings and Nations of the Earth, Bleſs, we beſeech thee, thy Faithful Servant, and our Dread Sovereign Lord King JAMES with the Richeſt Bleſſings of thy Grace: Eſtabliſh him in the Throne of His Kingdom by thy Mighty Aid and Protection: Viſit him as thou didſt viſit Moſes in the Buſh, Joſhua in the Battel Gideon in the Field, and Samuel in the Temple. Let the Dew of thine abundant Mercies fall upon his Head, and give

give him the Blessing of David and Solomon: Be unto him an Helmet of Salvation against the Face of His Enemies, and a strong Tower of Defence in the Time of Adversity: Let his Reign be prosperous, and His Days many: Let Peace, Love, and Holiness; let Justice and Truth, and all Christian Vertues flourish in His Time: Let His People Serve Him with Honour and Obedience, and let Him so duly serve thee here on Earth, that He may hereafter everlastingly Reign with thee in Heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, AMEN.

THE END.